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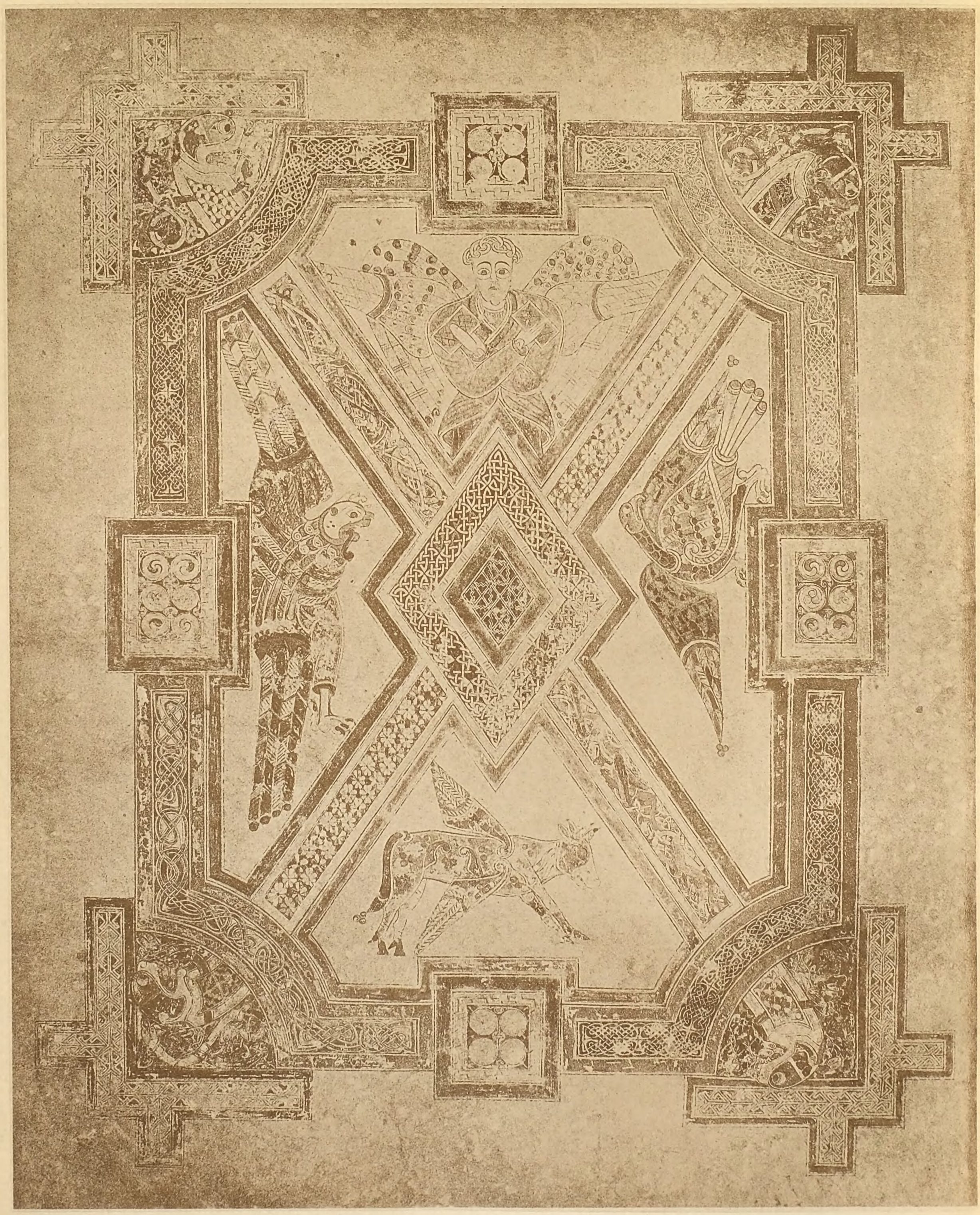
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AN ENQUIRY INTO THE ART OF THE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES


MDCVII
1891
Fedor von Zobeltitz-Spiegelberg

THE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES



VIII. BOOK OF KELLS

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE ART OF THE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

JOHAN ADOLF BRUUN

AUTHOR OF »NORGES STAVKYRKOR»

PART I. CELTIC ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

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THIS WORK IS DEDICATED

TO

MISS MARGARET STOKES,

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY,

BY HER PERMISSION.

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PREFACE

THE present volume is the first of a series intended to embody the results of what might be termed a comparative study of the dialects of the art of illumination during the Middle Ages. After dealing with the relics of the remarkable school which is so closely connected with the early Christian civilization of the British Islands, as well as of various countries on the Continent, and whose fame, dating from the darker centuries of the Middle Ages, excels that of any of its rivals, it is proposed, in the following parts of the work, to proceed with an examination of the illuminated manuscripts of early Italian and Byzantine origins and, subsequently, of those marking the successive stages of the Spanish, French, German, English, and Flemish schools, from their first appearance down to the epoch of their decline and extinction. This survey of the principal dialects of the art of illumination will be brought to a close by an essay on the relations and connexions between them, as far as those can be established by internal evidence and testimonies derived from contemporary history.

Although some good work has been done of late to make these precious records of the life and character of a bygone age more generally known, by the publication of reproductions and descriptions of the most notable remains, yet no attempt has hitherto been made to deal systematically with the subject as a whole, and, by a careful and exhaustive examination of a representative number of the original documents of the various schools, to collect and arrange the material for a history of this important branch of mediæval art. In consideration of this fact no

special apology may be needed for the defects which are sure to accompany the present work on an important, though somewhat neglected, subject.

The investigations the results of which are embodied in the present volume, treating of the Celtic illuminated *MSS.* in Great Britain and Ireland, were undertaken during two residences in the British Islands — a lengthened stay in 1895-96 and a shorter one in 1897, altogether about fifteen months. During that time I had the privilege of personally examining the following collections of Celtic illuminated *MSS.*, viz., those in the British Museum; in the Archiepiscopal library at Lambeth Palace; in the Bodleian library at Oxford; in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin; and in the library of the Franciscan Convent in Dublin. As to the very limited number of Celtic illuminated *MSS.*, preserved in British collections, which I have had no opportunity of examining myself, as, for example, the specimens in the University library at Cambridge and in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, I owe my knowledge of these to communications from British friends and to the existing literature on the subject.

With reference to the illustrations I have to thank Sir Edward Maunde Thompson for allowing me to reproduce a decorated page from the Gospels of Lindisfarne (plate III). Plates IV, V, and VI, are photographed for my work from the original, at Lambeth, by permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Plate X is also photographed for the present work from the original, in the collection of Trinity College, Dublin, by permission of Dr T. K. Abbott; and the rest are reproductions of photographs executed for publications of Dr Abbott's, and kindly placed at my disposal by the editor. As to the ornamental initials which adorn the present volume, these are drawn from the *MS. E. 4. 2.*, Trin. Coll., Dublin, and presented to me by Professor J. H. Bernard, to whom I am indebted for many other kind services.

In conclusion, I have to express my obligations to the Librarians and Authorities at the various institutions for the facilities afforded for the examination of the documents; and to all those who, in some way or other, have given assistance in the prosecution of my enquiries.

First among these I gratefully remember one who is now beyond my thanks, the late lamented Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks. With every student who was brought into contact with this great *savant,* to whom the science of Archæology owes so much, the writer of these lines shares a debt of deep and respectful gratitude, not only for such assistance as only a man in his position is able to offer, but, in the first place, for the encouraging and stimulating influence which the sympathetic interest and approval of a man like Sir Augustus never fails to exercise on disciples and fellow-workers.

I have to thank Dr Richard Garnett for various favours shown to me in the progress of my work in the British Museum. I also wish to testify to the courtesy of the Gentlemen of the Department of *MSS.* in the British Museum, and render my best thanks for kind help and ready information given in connexion with the documents under their charge.

Acknowledgments for favours of a like nature are due to Dr T. K. Abbott and Mr A. de Burgh, at the library of Trinity College, Dublin; to the Authorities at the library of the Royal Irish Academy; to the Authorities at the Bodleian library, Oxford; to Mr Arthur J. Evans, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; and to Mr S. W. Kershaw, the Librarian at Lambeth.

To the Rev. Father T. A. O'Reilly, O. S. F., I beg to express my cordial thanks for days of kindliest hospitality in the House of the Franciscan Order in Dublin, and for the privilege of the use of its library.

But my greatest obligations are due to my esteemed friends: Dr Joseph Anderson, Keeper of the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland, and Mr Baldwin Brown, Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh; and I desire to tender an expression of sincere and heart-felt gratitude for the kind acts of assistance I have experienced from these gentlemen, more especially at the start of my British studies.

J. A. B.

MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES
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THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF SUCH AUTHORITIES AS ARE REFERRED TO UNDER CONTRACTIONS

CONTRACTIONS:	AUTHORITIES:
Acta SS. Hiberniæ	*Acta Sanctorum veteris et maioris Scotiæ, seu Hiberniæ, Sanctorum insulæ;* per R. P. F. Johannem Colganum, tomus primus, Lovanii, MDCXLV.
An. F. M.	*Annals of the Four Masters;* in *Rer. Hibern. script. veteres,* vol. III.
An. U.	*Annals of Ulster*, edited by William M. Hennessy, vol. I—II, Dublin, 1887; in *Rer. Brit. m. æ. script.*
Archæologia	*Archæologia:* or Miscellaneous tracts relating to Antiquity; published by the Society of Antiquaries of London.
Archæologia Scot.	*Archæologia Scotica,* or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Brit. Eccles. Antiquitates	*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates,* quibus inserta est pestiferæ adversus Dei gratiam a Pelagio Britanno in Ecclesiam induc æ Hæreseos Historia; collectore Jacobo Usserio, Archiepiscopo Armachano, totius Hiberniæ primate, Dublinii, Anno CIↃ IↃC XXXIX.
Celtic Ornaments from the Book of Kells	*Celtic Ornaments from the Book of Kells,* Part I—IX, Dublin and London, 1892—95.

CONTRACTIONS:	AUTHORITIES:
Christian Inscriptions	*Christian Inscriptions in the Irish language,* chiefly collected and drawn by George Petrie, and edited by M. Stokes, vol. I—II, Dublin, 1872—78.
Facsimiles	*Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions,* edited by E. A. Bond and E. M. Thompson, vol. II, London, 1873—83.
Histoire de la Vulgate.	*Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Age,* par Samuel Berger; mémoire couronné par L'institut; Paris, 1893.
Hist. Eccles.	*Venerabilis Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum;* cura Georgii H. Moberly, Oxonii, MDCCCLXXXI.
Miniatures and Ornaments.	*Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts,* executed by J. O. Westwood, London, MDCCCLXVIII.
Monasticon Anglicanum.	*Monasticon Anglicanum:* a History of the abbies and other monasteries, hospitals, frieries, and cathedral and collegiate churches, with their dependencies, in England and Wales; by Sir William Dugdale, vol. I—VIII, London, 1846.
National MSS. Irel.	*Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland,* selected and edited under the direction of the Right Hon. Edward Sullivan, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, by J. T. Gilbert, Part I—IV, Dublin, MDCCCLXXIV — London, MDCCCLXXXIV.
National MSS. Scot.	*Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland,* selected under the direction of the Right Hon. Sir William Gibson-Craig, Part I—III, Southampton, MDCCCLXVII—MDCCCLXXI.

CONTRACTIONS:	AUTHORITIES:
Palæographia.	*Palæographia Sacra Pictoria,* being a series of illustrations of the ancient versions of the Bible, copied from illuminated manuscripts — by J. O. Westwood, London, MDCCCXLIII —MDCCCXLV.
Proceedings R. I. A.	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.*
Proceedings S. A. Scot.	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*
Rer. Brit. m. æ. script.	*Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi scriptores,* or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages; published by the authority of Her Majesty's treasury under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.
Rer. Hibern. script. vet.	*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres,* tom. I—IV, Buckinghamiæ, 1814 —1826.
The Book of Deer.	*The Book of Deer,* edited for the Spalding Club by John Stuart, Edinburgh, MDCCCLXIX.
The Historians of Scotland . . .	*The Historians of Scotland,* vol. I—X, Edinburgh, 1871—80.
Transactions R. I. A.	*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.*
Vetusta Monumenta.	*Vetusta Monumenta,* published by the Society of Antiquaries of London.
Vitæ Abbatum	*Vita Beatorum Abbatum* Benedicti, Ceolfridi, Eosterwini, Sigfridi, atque Hwætberhti; in Venerabilis Bedæ *Opera Historica,* tom. II, Londini, MDCCCXLI.
Vitæ antiquæ SS.	*Vitæ antiquæ Sanctorum* qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniæ nunc vocata Scotia, vel in ejus insulis; quasdam edidit ex MSS., quasdam collegit Johannes Pinkerton, qui et variantes lectiones et notas pauculas adjecit; Londini, MDCCLXXXIX.



§ I

N unusually detailed account of a specimen of ancient Celtic art of illumination is contained in a work written by Giraldus Cambrensis and dating from the close of the twelfth century. This author, in his *Topographia Hibernica*, tells us of a marvellous book which came under his notice in the course of his travels in Ireland in the years 1185 and 1186, and commanded his admiration on account of the wonderfully rich and elaborate character of its ornament. The ancient relic, to which he has devoted two chapters in the work containing the *impressions de voyage* of his Irish mission, and which he describes as one of the marvels of Erin, was at that time preserved among the hereditary treasures of the religious foundation of St. Brigid at Kildare. It was a copy of the Four Gospels, traditionally assigned to the days of the patron saint of that house. In its decorative aspect, being deemed too delicate a work for rough human hands, and, besides, too intricate and mysterious an affair for human invention, the book, in accordance with the pious belief of the day, was looked upon by the inmates of the house as a work produced

through the kindly assistance of supernatural powers. What arrested the attention of the twelfth century writer, and made him pay such a rare tribute to an object of that kind was not, however, as might be expected, the pious legend of its supernatural origin or high antiquity, but, in the first place, something that fell within the reach of his own personal observation: the manuscript itself, so far as its artistic work was concerned. And the combination of skill, taste, and devoted patience displayed in its ornamental pages is done justice to in the following passage which we extract entire:

»*De libro miraculose conscripto.* Inter universa Kildariæ miracula, nihil mihi miraculosius occurrit quam liber ille mirandus, tempore virginis, ut aiunt, angelo dictante conscriptus. Continet hic liber quatuor Evangeliorum juxta Ieronimum concordantiam: ubi quot paginæ fere tot figuræ diversæ, variisque coloribus distinctissimæ.

Hic Majestatis vultum videas divinitus impressum; hinc mysticas Evangelistarum formas, nunc senas, nunc quaternas, nunc binas alas habentes; hinc aquilam, inde vitulum, hinc hominis faciem, inde leonis; aliasque figuras fere infinitas. Quas si superficialiter et usuali more minus acute conspexeris, litura potius videbitur quam ligatura; nec ullam prorsus attendes subtilitatem, ubi nihil tamen præter subtilitatem. Sin autem ad perspicacius intuendum oculorum aciem invitaveris, et longe penitius ad artis arcana transpenetraveris, tam delicatas et subtiles, tam arctas et artitas, tam nodosas et vinculatim colligatas, tamque recentibus adhuc coloribus illustratas notare poteris intricaturas, ut vere hæc omnia potius angelica quam humana diligentia iam asseveraveris esse composita.

Hæc equidem quanto frequentius et diligentius intueor, semper quasi novis obstupeo, semper magis ac magis admiranda conspicio.«

As to the manner in which the work was composed we are told in the next chapter:

»*De libri compositione.* Nocte prima, cujus mane librum scriptor inchoaturus fuerat, astitit ei angelus in somnis, figuram quandam tabulæ quam manu præferebat impressam ei ostendens, et dicens, »Putasne hanc figuram in prima libri quem scripturus

es pagina possis imprimere?» Cui scriptor, de tantæ subtilitatis arte, de tam ignotæ et inusitatæ rei diffidens notitia, respondit, »Nequaquam». Cui angelus, »In crastino die dic dominæ tuæ, ut ispa pro te orationes fundat ad Dominum, quatinus ad acutius intuendum et subtilius intelligendum tibi tam mentis quam corporis oculos aperiat, et ad recte protrahendum manus dirigat.» Quo facto, nocte sequente iterum affuit angelus, eandem figuram aliasque multas ei præsentans. Quas omnes, divina opitulante gratia, statim advertens et memoriæ fideliter commendans libro suo locis competentibus ad unguem scriptor impressit. Sic igitur angelo præsentante, Brigida orante, scriptore imitante, liber est ille conscriptus.» [1]

The latter part of the extract needs no comment. As to the former part of it, containing the personal observations of Giraldus, it should be remembered that such is the opinion of one whom we know, from many traits in his various works, as a shrewd and exact observer, and who, moreover, lived at an epoch when material for comparison, and that of a very high degree of excellence, existed in abundance. In the course of the twelfth century we witness, outside of the Celtic area, a remarkable growth of the art of book-illumination, characterised by volumes of exceptionally grand dimensions and of the most gorgeous decoration in gold and colours. This class of illuminated books seems to have grown into vogue in England in the earlier part of the century, as it did some time previously in the neighbouring countries across the Channel; and there can be little doubt that the zealous and talented Archdeacon of St. David's, who in his earlier years had studied on the Continent, and who became later on so closely allied to the Royal Court of England, was familiar with the literary and artistic aspirations of his own days, and knew to perfection the master-achievements of the non-Celtic schools of art of contemporary date.

Although referring to a particular work of especial merit, the testimony of the mediæval writer may well be placed at the head of an enquiry into the art in general

[1] Giraldi Cambrensis *Opera,* vol. V, pp. 123, 124, London, 1867; in *Rer. Brit. m. æ. script.*

of the Celtic illuminated manuscripts, emphasising as it does at the same time the salient characteristics of the style followed by this distinguished school of illumination: its minute and delicate drawing, its brilliance of colouring, and, above all, that amazing amount of devoted and patient labour which underlies its intricate compositions, and creates the despair of anyone who tries to copy them.

It is proposed in the following pages to give an analysis of the Celtic style of book-decoration, by classifying the various motives or elements of which the complex schemes of an ornamental page are composed; and by tracing the evolution of each separate motive as far as that can be followed in Celtic art; afterwards to deal with the principles of composition and the treatment and effect of colour; and, lastly, to place before the reader a series of works in chronological sequence representative of the school in its successive stages of progress. The question of the historical connexion of Celtic design with that of other countries will be properly treated only after a survey of the other mediæval schools of illumination. Although at first sight presenting a bewildering variety of forms, the designs shown in the decorated manuscripts will, when more closely examined, be seen to submit to a rational classification under four divisions which practically absorb the whole stock of ornament. First, there is a group of patterns in the structure of which purely geometrical combinations or developments of the straight or curved line form the sole element. Then, we have groups of motives which, though anything but natural, yet were originally derived from Nature, such as highly conventionalised schemes of animals, leaves, and flowers. And, finally, there is a group of figure subjects or representations suggested by the accompanying text, which, owing to an emphatically decorative treatment, may be looked upon as mere decoration rather than illustration. Accordingly, the four divisions will be:— (1) geometrical ornament; (2) zoomorphic and (3) phyllomorphic designs; and (4) figure representations.

§ II

CELTIC ornament as shown in the pages of the illuminated manuscripts receives its most characteristic and most national element from the group of *spiral* designs. The spiral is a motive of high antiquity in Celtic decorative art. From a number of objects dating from a period anterior to the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, it appears that a peculiar type of spiral was a staple design to the pagan Celt; and if we compare the spiral patterns of pagan origin with those exhibited in the various works of Christian art in Ireland, the illuminated manuscripts included, there can be little doubt that the spiral system of the Christian centuries was lineally descended from that known in earlier times to the pagan natives of the country. We hope to prove this suggestion to be something more than a vague hypothesis. The spiral design was no accidental feature in the pagan Celtic art; nor was it confined to such simple, uniform scrolls as those we find used as a kind of border ornament by several pre-historic peoples. It was, on the contrary, a favourite pattern of a very elaborate character, applied as a surface decoration to a variety of objects, such as shields, helmets, sword-sheaths, armlets, horse-trappings, and personal ornaments, examples of which still survive, testifying to an astonishing proficiency in metal work — bronze and gold — both as regards construction and decoration.[1] The ornament that lends the higher dignity to these and similar objects — the pride of the Celtic warrior and chieftain — consists of a most characteristic spiral design which, though simple and abstract, yet at the same time possesses a peculiar

[1] The most representative collections of objects decorated with the late Celtic spiral work found in the British Islands, are in the British Museum; and in the National Museum of Ireland [R. I. A. coll.] in Dublin. For illustrations, the reader should refer to *Archæologia,* vol. XXXVI, plate XXXVII; vol. XL, plates XXX, XXXI; vol. LIV, plate XLVIII; vol. XLVII, plate XXI; to the publications of the R. I. A., for ex., *Transactions R. I. A.,* vol. XXX, part V, plate XIX, with beautiful reproduction in colours; and to plates in Kemble's *Horæ Ferales,* also in colours. For lists of objects, see the descriptions added by Sir A. Wollaston Franks in Kemble's *op. cit.* p. 125 *seqq.;* and also later volumes of *Archæologia.*

force combined with a flamboyant elegance in its long, sweeping curves. This is the style of ornament to which Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks has given the name of *late Celtic*. The root from which it sprang is uncertain. It has been suggested that, at least in some types, it was developed under the influence of floral or foliated schemes transplanted from classical ground.[1] If so, that might account for part of its force and freedom, qualities so rare in an ornament of purely geometrical extraction; while, on the other hand, in case the opinion be correct, the Celtic pattern may be said to be the most ingenious translation ever made, of a foliageous design into a geometrical one. Here, as in every spiral system, the principal elements are a series of volutes and the links which connect them together. But what lends to this a character of its own is the special development of the connecting links which, by gradually expanding or contracting, enrich the ornament with a series of long, slender curves of great linear beauty. The pattern usually appears in relief produced either by *repoussé* work and chasing, when the object was made of plates of metal wrought into shape with the hammer and rivetted together; or by the particular form given to the mould, in the case of casting. On works of the first description the links bounded by the long curved lines are raised above the surface so as to present a section with a sharp ridge at the top. The artistic appearance effected by the bold design and energetic modelling of the late Celtic spiral ornament is further enhanced by the application of *champ-levé* enamel[2], used on plaques or bosses attached to the pattern to emphasise the centres of the volutes, etc. Objects exhibiting this style of decoration have been discovered in various districts of Great Britain and Ireland, showing the style to have been at one time common to

[1] See especially *Archæologia*, vol. LII, p. 317 *seqq.*, 364 *seqq.*, in which Mr. Arthur Evans contributes some very important notes on the connexions between late Celtic forms of ornament and classical art in its archaic as well as later stages.

[2] See especially coloured plates with descriptions in Kemble's *op. cit.*; *Transactions R. I. A.*, vol. XXX, part. V, pp. 277, 281, with coloured plate XIX; *cfr. Archæologia*, vol. XLVI, pp. 83, 84, 89.

the pre-Christian Celtic population of the British Islands. Besides, similar objects have been found, although more sparsely, on the tracks of Celtic tribes on the Continent, whereas, outside of regions known to have been, in a bygone age, inhabited or visited by such tribes, there is little analogous to it, and nothing of an altogether similar nature. This seems to prove the so-called late Celtic, whatever may be its germ or its prototype, to have claim to be regarded as an emphatically Celtic style of art. And as such it flourished at the time when the Christian missionaries carried to the pagan Celts the faith and rites of a new religion together with the principles of a new art.

What was the actual result effected at this meeting of foreign and native elements: how they tend to modify each other, and both of them influence the following evolution, will be shewn by a most instructive parallel afforded by the history of architecture. A series of ecclesiastical buildings, some of which are found surrounded by the dry-built cells within the boundary walls of the ancient monastic communities, while others are situated in isolated positions without any connexion with other structures, enable us to trace the evolution of the typical forms of the Celtic church in Ireland, from the earliest centuries of Irish Christianity until, in the course of the twelfth century, it appears as a special, well-defined variety of the Romanesque style of architecture. The late Lord Dunraven, in his great work on Irish architecture, has made these venerable remnants, extending through a period the architectural history of which is almost a blank in the other countries of Europe north of the Alps, a subject for most careful research. He has pointed out how the most primitive of these churches belong to a type which still bears the impress of the transitional stage between paganism and Christianity.[1] Thus, while the principles and methods of construction are the very same as those

[1] *Notes on Irish Architecture,* by Edwin, third Earl of Dunraven; edited by Margaret Stokes; vol. I, London, 1875; p. 26 *seqq.*; vol. II, London, 1877; p. 134 *seqq.*

shown in works of purely pagan origin, a special plan and arrangement of the room, differing from what may be observed in any pagan structure, clearly indicates their ecclesiastical purpose. He also lays stress upon the fact that the following evolution nowhere shows any sudden break in the continuity of style, but only a gradual advance towards those more elaborate types which prevailed in countries nearer the centres of Christian civilization.[1] And in following his guidance we observe how constructive peculiarities of the greatest importance, as, for example, the ingenious practice of the Irish »double stone roof»,[2] were, after all, but the results that gradually and rationally, under the influence of the foreign elements, grew out of the primitive devices of the pagan natives.

The reader will excuse this little digression, running off on a somewhat diverging line from our spirals. It has been done in order to show that, if we should find in the evolution of decorative art, when passing the point marked by the change of religion, an analogon to the state of things observable in the sphere of architecture, that is precisely what might be expected.

The spiral decoration as shown in the pages of the illuminated manuscripts may be briefly defined as a system of volutes closely coiled in circular curves, and connected each with a varying number of adjoining volutes. In its most typical form it appears as a chain composed of links almost invariably C-shaped, hooking together. This chain is carried over the space to be decorated so as to cover it with its coils as closely as possible. The space, however, often being very irregular, some difficulty was experienced in thus filling in all nooks and corners; and an expedient was found either in making volutes of different size so as to fit or in introducing additional links into the chain. By this method the triple and quadruple spirals arose, while at the same time the intricacy, not only of the convolutions, but of the whole design was greatly

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 200, 202.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 196.

I. BOOK OF DURROW



increased. These complex patterns were further developed by an ingenious arrangement combining volutes of different size in symmetrical compositions to fill in, for instance, a circular space. This is a favourite device in the manuscripts of the best period, and one which shows the spiral pattern in its most perfect elaboration. In the decadent age of Celtic book-decoration the spiral ornament disappears earlier than any of the other designs.

If we compare the so-called late Celtic spiral decoration with that of the illuminated manuscripts, we find at a glance, in spite of an unmistakable resemblance, some marked features of difference. These latter, however, may all be easily accounted for. An ornamental design when transplanted from one object to another of different material is necessarily submitted to some modifications due to material, technique, size and shape of the surface, etc.; and so was of course the ornament in question when transferred from a bold metal surface to the diminutive space afforded by the initial or border compartment of an illuminated folio. There it extended freely with long, mighty curves and slender volutes over a field more than sufficient; here the space was so limited as to admit of but the smallest possible vacancies; hence, the reduced curves of the links and the more intricate character of the convolutions, which the pen of the illuminator was better fitted than the instrument of the metal-worker to run in a number of turns round the centre. The link joining a couple of volutes on the late Celtic bronzes is often bent into the curve of the letter S, whereas in the spiral system of the illuminated manuscripts the connecting link is seen to follow almost invariably the curve of a C. What led to a more general adoption of the latter form was, no doubt, its being a means of joining the volutes so as to cover as closely as possible a surface even of less regular shape.

There are, however, apart from the general scheme of the ornament, some details which deserve a special notice, as testifying in a most significant way to the actual connexion between the late Celtic system and that

of the Christian period. Such details may be seen in the decorative treatment of the centres of the volutes as well as of the central portions of the links. The centre of a volute designed on the minute scale typical of Celtic book-ornamentation does not seem to be a suitable place for the insertion of additional adornment; and yet, strange to say, we generally find this point emphasised by a variety of additional devices. Very often these take the shape of a circular space worked with a diminutive pattern which consists of some kind of chequered or diapered design; or of the ends of the coils wound up into secondary spirals or expanding into heads or even full forms of birds and nondescripts in symmetrical arrangement. On the link we observe a curious little thing in the shape of an almond placed across its central portion, from the point where the two front curves meet in a cusp, towards the middle of the back curve. This little figure is seen repeated in a similar position to relieve the triangular empty spaces intervening between the curved boundaries of links and volutes. In the complex patterns of triple and quadruple spirals this gives rise to what might seem at first sight to be a foliageous scheme. The little trefoil thus produced has, however, nothing to do with the department of botany. It owes its origin simply to an accidental repetition of the single oval stamped in the middle of the link. And this in its turn is a reminiscence of the oval boss which we have noticed in a similar position on the late Celtic metal work; just as the ornamented circular plaques of enamel attached to the centres of the volutes on pagan bronzes may have suggested the circular spaces with varied decoration which mark the starting point of the convolution in the spiral system of the Christian period. A reminiscence of the pattern from which that of the manuscripts was originally derived once being raised in relief, is still to be observed in the latter. The small triangular spaces intervening between the curved outlines of links and volutes, and corresponding to the background of the late Celtic pattern, are, as a rule, marked by a

darker colour and thus characterised as having once formed a recessed background.

Although most common and best developed in the complex patterns which are employed to fill in, as a surface decoration, the small sections into which the space of the initial or border is divided, the spiral very often appears as a plain scroll forming an ornamental appendix to the extremities of the initial. And in a few cases it will be seen to have influenced the initial also in its structural aspect. Examples of this type, in which the little oval of late Celtic extraction is still discernible, may be seen in the ancient Irish Psalter traditionally assigned to the time of St. Columba and now preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.[1]

In the previous pages the spiral system as applied to the decoration of illuminated manuscripts has been delineated in its general scheme; its characteristics and development followed in some detail; and its relation to the style of art exhibited in late Celtic metal work briefly considered. What has been said may prove enough to show that this type of pattern, one of the chief elements of Christian decorative art in Ireland, and of especial significance as a testimony to the minute elaboration and marvellous finish of detail characteristic of the Celtic school of illumination, is the survival of an earlier native system, which, although submitted to various modifications in being applied to quite new purposes, yet has left, along the whole line of derived forms, an impress sufficiently clear and well-defined for its origin to be easily recognised. Some might claim the spiral design of Christian art in Ireland as having originated independently. We do not intend to enter into a discussion of that as it is but an hypothesis, supported neither by historical evidence nor by analogies. On the other hand, one might think of its being introduced together with the stock of ornament brought from other countries by the early Christian missionaries. But it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to point to a single scheme in de-

[1] The *Cathach MS.*, Libr. R. I. A., Dublin.

corative art outside of the Celtic area with greater claim than the so-called late Celtic to be considered as the prototype that once suggested the spiral design shown in manuscripts and other works of the Christian era.

§ III

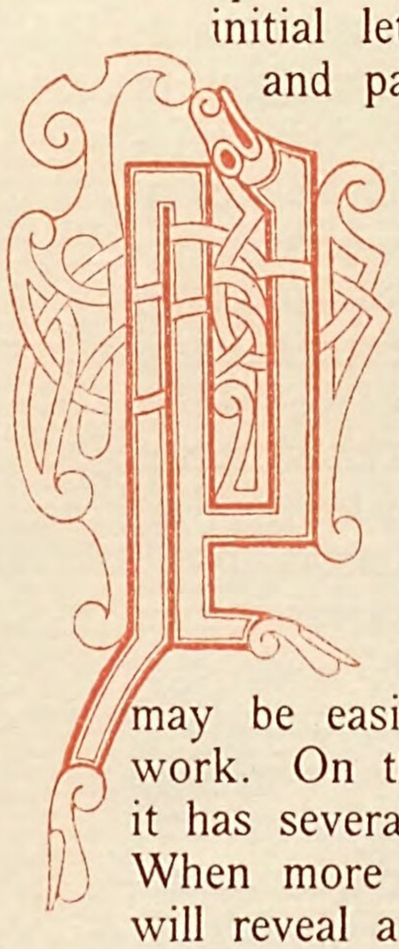
THE next room after the spiral ornament we may place an important group consisting of geometrical *interlacements*. This type of pattern as appearing in the illuminated manuscripts may be characterised as a surface decoration composed of one or more ribbons or straps of uniform size, which are twisted, plaited, knotted, or otherwise interwoven so as to cover the field with a symmetrically disposed design. It occurs in a variety of forms, from the plain twist, or guilloche, to the elaborate chain composed of knots of torturing intricacy and of varied construction, being laid in squares, circles, oblongs, triangles, hexagons, octagons, etc. The more intricate forms are predominant; and, by variety of design and the unerring precision with which the ribbons are interwoven so as to cross over and under alternately and finally be joined up to each other, testify to the astonishing capacity of the draughtsman. When compared with the spiral ornament, the interlaced work looks rather mechanical. This is particularly the case with the plainer forms, in which the linear element is confined to a monotonous repetition of the same kind of curve. Hence it came that these never obtained great favour, but held a very subordinate place to the more complicated patterns. An interlaced series would receive an additional enrichment in various ways. One method was to lay it with alternate patches of colour, producing at the same time the effect of some kind of chequer work. While some of the more complex patterns still present in their structure the endless repetition of the same kind of curve, the linear element of others is developed with a very pleasing result by straight lines being introduced to serve as a backbone to the ornament; as also by curves broken into the shape of a section of a pointed

arch being made to alternate with those following an even circular path. Besides, there are forms in which the interlaced work was disposed so as to leave blank spaces alternating with the elaborate knot work. By these and similar means a certain measure of freedom and variety was introduced into the ornament. Designs of the nature just described are seen repeated again and again, with slight variations, in the works of the best period, and may be regarded as typical of Celtic interlaced work as instanced in illuminated manuscripts. Interlacings of an altogether angular character are rarely met with in works of the earlier centuries, as in pages of the *Book of Durrow;*[1] they seem to belong chiefly to forms marking the degradation of style of a later period.

Before leaving the subject of interlacements we must not omit mention of a particular use of these designs in being applied to the construction of initials. Smaller initials heading the sub-divisions of the text will be seen at an early period to be worked on the principle of an intertwining strap work; but the chief development of this type of letter seems to fall within the later era, when the method gives rise to a peculiar character that might be defined as a piece of purely geometrical interlacing, with nondescript beasts' heads occasionally attached to the terminations. This type in its turn was further developed by transforming the geometrical strap work with its zoomorphic ends into a complete scheme of a nondescript animal with head, legs, and tail; or into a composition of similar creatures. And details such as ears, and crests, and tails, were in that case prolonged and extenuated into endless appendices, and twisted and woven at random around the broader structural body. Initial letters of this nature, enriched with patches of colour in the interior spaces, form the chief decorative feature of the illuminated manuscripts of the period when the Celtic style of book-decoration was on the decline. They show a marked contrast to the grand

[1] *MS. A. 4. 5.*, Trinity College, Dublin.

ornamental initials of the culminating art; but although unquestionably inferior with regard to minute drawing and accuracy of detail, yet from a certain boldness of design and broader treatment of colour they receive, not infrequently, an artistic, picturesque stamp. In a somewhat rough execution the type appears in works dating from the last centuries of the Middle Ages; and may almost be said to have survived the mediæval art of book-ornamentation, as it is still to be seen in manuscripts written after the introduction of printed books. Thus the *MS. Life of St. Columba,* by Manus O'Donel, chief of Tir Connell, written in the earlier half of the sixteenth century and now preserved in the library of the Franciscan Convent in Dublin,[1] still presents, at the commencement of the volume, a large initial letter of the type described, drawn in outline and partly laid with colour after the old mediæval fashion.



§ IV

A third group of geometrical motives of decoration we include the several varieties of *fret* work. Like the spiral and interlaced work, this kind of ornament was employed to fill in small panels as part of the surface enrichment of borders and initials. A rectilinear design, composed of a system of straight strokes, which are symmetrically disposed so as to meet at definite angles, but never overlap, and only rarely flow into a curve, the fret may be easily distinguished from all kinds of interlaced work. On the other hand, in spite of the different aspect, it has several features in common with the spiral design. When more closely examined, the fret, plain or complex, will reveal a series of centres disposed at regular intervals over the space to be decorated. Each of these centres marks the starting point for what forms the groundwork of the design, viz., a small figure in the shape of a ⊏ or an ⊆, corresponding to the C- or S-shaped links in the spiral systems. In fact, every variety of fret, even of the

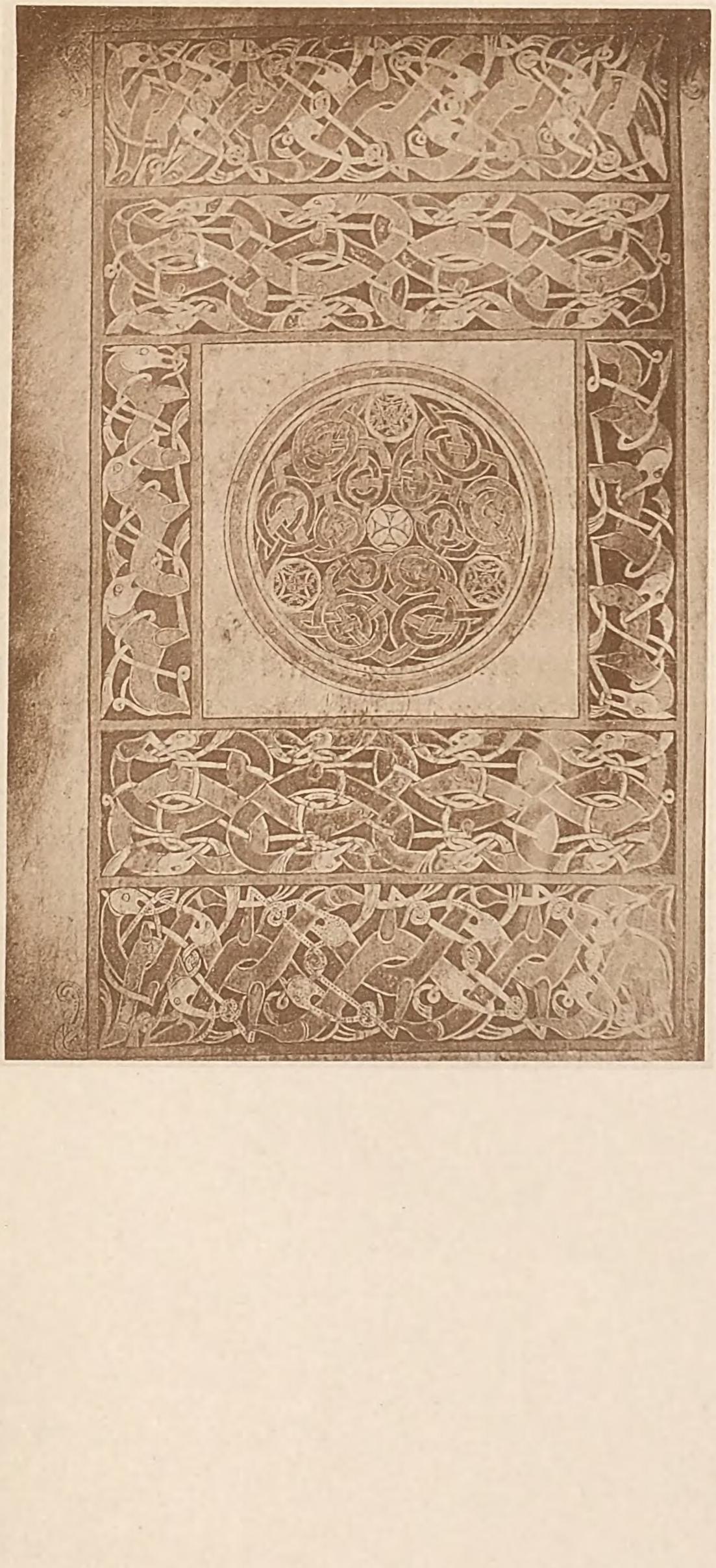
[1] *MS. G VIII,* Libr. Franc. Conv., Dublin.

most hopelessly labyrinthine nature, can be derived from a mechanical combination and repetition of these primary elements. By means of the ⊏- or ⊐-shaped links each centre is connected with one or more adjoining centres. And the plain or composite character of the ornament chiefly depends on the number of links thus starting from the same centre. In the simplest and best known of fret patterns, the plain Greek *mœander,* we find a continuous chain composed of similar links; and, again, in the most intricate forms of Celtic fret there is nothing but a mechanical composition of the same simple groundwork. What lends to the Celtic fret a character of its own, contrasting with that of the square type so common in Greek art, was the fashion of bending the links at certain points at angles of 45°, instead of 90°, which latter are exclusively used in the square type. Hence they appear in the slightly modified forms of a ⊏ or a Σ; and from this procedure the pattern as a whole will receive a peculiar Chinese-looking weaving with lines plying in three directions, a diagonal one being added to the horizontal and vertical paths followed by the line of the square type. This kind of fret, characterised by lines which are drawn diagonally over the space, on being broken at angles of 45° alternating at definite points with right angles, became a standard design owing to the more elaborate structure and greater variety introduced by the diagonal element.

In the illuminated manuscripts the fret appears in a variety of forms, from plain, continuous chains to elaborate compositions of what might be styled the quadruple fret, *i. e.,* four links issuing from the same centre. Here, as was the case with the interlaced work, the more complex forms are prevalent; and regarding the shape of the little figure that forms the groundwork of the design, the patterns are mostly seen to be derived from that broken at angles of 45°. Hence, the predominance of the diagonal types. In fact, the Celtic fret patterns would seem at first sight to be all built on that principle. But such is not the case. For, if we follow the lines of the main design, we

shall find them invariably deflecting at right angles and thus pursuing their path in two directions only, either horizontally or vertically; just as do the lines of the regular square build. What makes these patterns look diagonal is the relation of the main design to the enclosing border. In order to lessen the stiffness and monotony of the ornament by making its lines break with those of the border, the pattern as a whole was turned a little and placed diagonally on the panel to be decorated, its lines cutting those of the border at an angle of 45°, instead of being run parallel. It will be seen, then, that the small triangular spaces which result from the border lines being brought into contact with those of the pattern, are simply due to the necessity of adjusting the surface design to the border, and have nothing to do with the main build of the ornament. There is another point about the Celtic fret which is at first sight a little puzzling, and makes the structure of the ornament look a more serious affair than it really is. This is due to the designer not being always quite sure as to what was the actual background of his ornament. Let us take a quadruple fret of the square type. Here we see four links issuing from the same centre, each joining with its other end a similar centre, much in the same way as do the four coils of a quadruple spiral. This is the real groundwork of the design. But, at the same time, the empty spaces intervening between the links will be seen to form another pattern of a rectilinear type, which, although bearing a close resemblance to the actual pattern, yet is not altogether identic. Now, in the illuminated manuscripts the ornamental design and its background are of different colour. In the works of the best period it is a rule to have the design, of whatever description, brought out in relief by the application of darker and stronger tones to the background. The difference between pattern and background with regard to colouring is also observed in the case of fret work; but what might here cause some confusion, and obviously shows that the designer did not quite grasp the meaning of his ornament, is that, while,

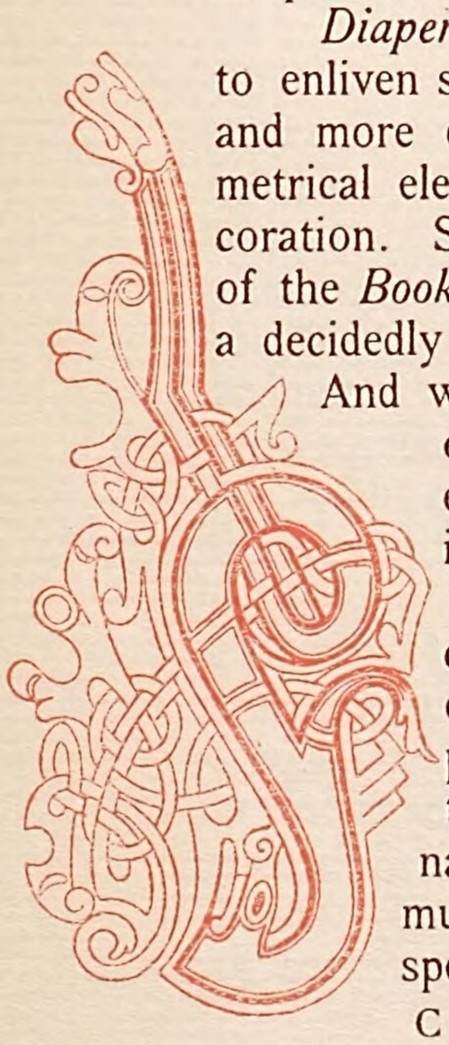
II. BOOK OF DURROW



as a rule, the real design is brought out as it should, there are other cases in which the rectilinear spaces which form the background are raised and treated as the actual ornament.

What still remains unnoticed of geometrical decoration is either of less importance or of too rare occurrence to be regarded as characteristic of the style in general. One noteworthy feature is the use of *dots*, in single or repeated rows, to emphasise the outline of the initial. This is observable in the earliest extant manuscripts, as, for example, in the ancient Psalter mentioned above; and continues in fashion to the very end. From the large initial the punctured line would extend to embrace the other more or less decorative letters in the same page; and in the richest works, in which, according to a fashion known in other styles of book-illumination, the letters were laid on decorative bands, this kind of background is seen to be worked with patterns that were, not infrequently, dotted or punctured out on the same principle.

Diaper work will be seen to be occasionally introduced to enliven smaller spaces and vacancies between the broader and more elaborate designs. But this stiffest of all geometrical elements never played any great part in Celtic decoration. Several varieties of it may be seen in the pages of the *Book of Kells*, where it occurs together with *rosettes*, a decidedly non-Celtic detail of ornament.



And with this we may lay aside the chequered variety of geometrical designs, a class of ornament which embraces the main mass of patterns to be found in the illuminated manuscripts.

§ V ET the series of patterns which is next to be considered still includes sufficient variety of types of a pronounced Celtic character to form important co-ordinate classes. In these we group the ornamental designs in which a copying of natural forms is more or less conspicuous. It must be distinctly understood, however, that in speaking thus we do not mean to assert that any

object was represented naturally. For quite the reverse is the case. In most instances the decorative form is as different as it possibly could be from the forms of any object in actual existence. Among the *zoomorphic* schemes there are birds, quadrupeds of a nondescript nature, sometimes even the utterly contorted outline of a human figure. As to the birds and quadrupeds it would be of no use to be too particular in any attempt to trace their zoological prototypes. Regarding the former the most outstanding features are such as might be derived by decorative treatment from almost any variety of the species; and in the case of the latter the origination is, if possible, still more hopelessly obscured.

An observation connecting these forms with some hybrid figures, half nature, half fancy, which occur in their close vicinity, might perhaps settle the question. If we compare details, such as heads, limbs, and wings, in the zoomorphic interlacings with corresponding details in the representations of the Evangelistic symbols, which are a stock design in the illuminated copies of the Gospels, we find, in the majority of cases, a striking resemblance. This naturally suggests the idea that the ancient symbols, such as the eagle of St. John or the lion of St. Mark, repeated from copy to copy in traditional schemes, once served as the originals from which the designer gathered the zoomorphic details for his fanciful pieces of decoration. Hence we may fairly set aside the speculations on the zoological prototypes as rather unnecessary, the more so, because the peculiar nature of this kind of ornament depends — not so much on details as on the manner in which these are connected together so as to form a consistent whole. A zoomorphic interlacing used, like the forms of ornament we have been dealing with, to fill in a panel or compartment of more or less regular shape will be seen, in most cases, to arise from the repetition of a single figure, a bird or a quadruped, with head, legs, wings of a distinct, well-defined type attached to a curious, decoratively treated piece of a body. According to the shape of the space to

be adorned, the figure is repeated to form either a continuous chain or a composite group of two or four specimens in symmetrical arrangement, which group in its turn is capable of repetition. Occasionally we find a composition of two figures of different type, for example, a bird and a quadruped. This group is also capable of further combination and repetition. The chief trait common to all these varieties is the great pains taken in twisting, plaiting, and weaving them together in every conceivable manner. When the tangle produced by intertwining the limbs, tail, neck, and trunk of the body was not deemed sufficient, some further devices had to be invented. One was to prolong the jaw, the crest, or the top of the ear into a sort of appendix intended to serve as an additional link.

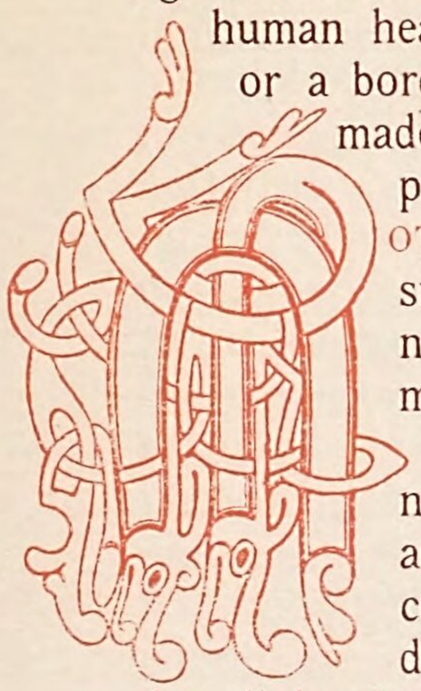
The animal element also appears in the terminations of borders and initials. One very favourite method was to add a beast's head and a pair of legs at one end of the border; and if we follow the long, broken band covered with decorative panels, we should not be surprised at finding the rest of the body attached to the other end in the shape of a pair of diminutive hind-legs. Or, there is another border run right round the page, with a human head at the top, a pair of feet at the lower margin, and an arm attached to each side! Occasionally the large ornamental initials are seen to be treated in a similar manner. In specimens of the decadent period it is a rule to use zoomorphic terminals for the interlaced work which does duty for the body of the letter; a type from which evolved that composed of a complete animal figure or of a combination of such, as has been shown above. The peculiarities of the various types will be explained by the accompanying plates better than by words. There we see the form typical of the zoomorphic interlacements in the *Book of Durrow*. It consists of a body in the shape of a curved or undulating band, with fore-leg, hind-leg, a dull, tame head, and elongated jaws. There is, perhaps, along the whole line of animal motives used in decorative art,

none more utterly stripped of animal life and expression, in being transformed according to the laws of a certain conventionalising principle. A marked contrast to this type is shown in the pages of the *Book of Kells*[1] and the *Gospels of Lindisfarne.*[2] There we often meet with a head suggestive of a beast of prey, but rather exaggerating the bloodthirsty propensities of its zoological prototype. It mostly occurs at the end of a border or an initial, and may often be seen side by side with the lifeless schemes of the Durrow type. In the zoomorphic interlacements of the decadent period, when they appear chiefly in the structure of initials, the head assumes a variety of forms according to the whims of the draughtsman. Thus in the *Liber Hymnorum*[3] from which the initials in the present work are drawn, and which seems to date from the eleventh century, among the number of beasts' heads worked in the letters there is hardly one quite like another; and yet, at the same time, they have such features in common as testify to their derivation from the types in use at earlier periods. The bird frequently figures in the works of the best period. Its chief characteristics are a long beak curved at the end, a well developed wing, which, like part of the body, is covered with various kinds of feather pattern, and a remarkably well drawn leg. It is seen in profile, as are the animal motives with very few exceptions.

Other animal forms than those now described are of rare or exceptional occurrence. Such is the case with the fish and the serpent, both of which may be seen among the curiosities of the *Book of Kells.* Here they are chiefly used as ornamental finials; the fish also doing duty for the sign of abbreviation in, for example, the monogrammatic contraction *IHS.* Occasionally we find, as in the *Books of Kells* and *Armagh*[4], a letter partly formed of the figure of a fish, according to a fashion well-known in Merovingian and Lombardic manuscripts. In some cases the human

[1] *MS. A. 1. 6.*, Trinity Coll., Dublin.
[2] *Cotton. MS. Nero D. 4.*, Brit. Mus.
[3] *MS. E. 4. 2.*, Trinity Coll., Dublin.
[4] *MS.* (no press-mark) Trinity Coll., Dublin.

figure was made use of for decorative purposes. Thus a human head may be seen attached to the end of a letter or a border; or a group of dreadfully contorted bodies made to fill in a small panel or a circular compartment.



§ VI OTIVES derived from other departments of nature, such as leaves, flowers, and fruit of *plants*, never played any great part in Celtic ornament. So far as evidence at present goes, they may be said to have been utterly ignored, if not quite unknown, for a length of time. There are manuscripts, among those most lavishly decorated, in which it would be impossible to detect, even by the most careful examination, the slightest shade of a floral or foliageous design. There is nothing of the kind in the *Book of Durrow*[1]; nor in the *Book of Dimma*[2]; nor in the *Gospels of Mac Durnan*[3]; and in the most beautiful and perfect specimen of Hibernian art as cultivated outside of its native isle, the *Gospels of Lindisfarne*, the plant ornament is likewise conspicuous by its absence. Nor does it seem, when once introduced, ever to have become very fashionable. Together with some other devices obviously due to an influx of foreign ideas it appears in the *Book of Kells*, engrafted, with as good grace as possible, on the national stock of ornament. After this epoch, in spite of its growth in the most brilliant work of Irish caligraphy and book-illumination, it will never well prosper. Occasionally we meet with a small panel filled in with what seems to be intended for a scroll of foliage; but, as a rule, the leaf design only survives in the very subordinate position of an appendix or termination ornament, where, moreover, under a not very careful treatment it loses its character, and dwindles into a semi-geometrical scheme, the true origin of which requires some thought and comparison to be detected.

[1] *MS. A. 4. 5.*, Trinity Coll., Dublin.
[2] *MS. A. 4. 23.*, Trinity Coll., Dublin.
[3] *MSS. collect.*, Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth.

In the *Book of Kells* there are several varieties, the most typical being that of a scroll which branches out at various points, with a trefoil or a palmetto-shaped leaf of four or five leaflets terminating each of the branches. In the most elaborate scheme two scrolls of this description will be seen to proceed from a vase, and extend each on its side, with leaves and tendrils carefully intertwined so as to cover the space with a symmetrical pattern. Or, in a somewhat plainer shape it appears as a single undulating stem with scrolls in the hollows alternately on the right and left. The phyllomorphic element recurs in combinations with zoomorphic details. Thus a scroll proceeding from between the open jaws of a nondescript beast's head, and a trefoil-shaped leaf attached to the other end of the creature are common devices. In addition to these there are scrolls of foliage with complete animal forms of the types described introduced amongst the branches. A floral or foliated scheme, drawn in outline, frequently figures as a sort of flourish appended to smaller initials or even plain letters in the text; and similar free-hand sketches recur among the bewildering variety of ornamental designs at the beginning or the end of the ordinary line or in the vacant space left between two sentences. The method of working the tail or the tongue of a nondescript into the shape of foliage was obviously deemed a great invention. This is the principal position in which the phyllomorphic element survives in works of later times. We rarely meet with a scroll extending over a panel, as in the *Book of Kells;* but the leaf appendix of the animal body is of so frequent occurrence that it may be regarded as one of the leading characteristics of the designs of the decadent age. Most of the forms of leaf in this position are traceable to those shown in the *Book of Kells*, the trefoil and quatrefoil, as well as the lanceolate and heart-shaped types. An innovation appears with the introduction of the leaf with the tricuspid profile, a type characteristic of Carlovingian art and afterwards a stock design in almost every dialect of Romanesque ornament. Only we should not expect

to find anything like a fair copy of the original. The conventionalising principle asserts itself here as elsewhere, regulating the outline. The gracefully curved leaf becomes a stiff and formal affair with a contour drawn on the spiral idea. Near the point where the curved boundaries of the longest leaflet meet, we often observe a little oval figure laid across the leaflet. In its present position it appears quite enigmatic and out of place. What does it mean? And where did it come from? The little figure points back to our starting point, the pre-Christian art of Ireland. It is a hall-mark connecting some of the latest and most debased types of Hibernian ornament as exhibited in the illuminated manuscripts with the ancient native art of the Isle, by testifying to the influence of the spiral principle in moulding and regulating Celtic design down to the very end of its national existence.

§ VII

LASTLY, we come to the subject of *figures* and *scenes* intended to serve as illustrations for the sacred books. As such they do not lack interest although they are of less value from the point of view of art. For it should be stated at the outset that, whatever were the attainments of the Celtic school of miniature-painters, they were assuredly no masters in the art of figure-drawing. It may be that this very imperfect style of draughtsmanship, which appears to modern onlookers so ridiculously childish and grotesque, was viewed by its contemporaries with a very different eye from that with which a modern critic views the same thing. It may be that the absurdities in form and colour, which make the figures of the Saviour and his Apostles appear to us like so many rudely expressed travesties, were veiled by a sentiment similar to that which makes the pious Catholic of our days kneel down to the image of the Crucified, quite unheeding whether it be the beautifully-finished work of a world-known artist or the badly carved and badly painted puppet from the workshop of some rustic *Herrgott-Schnitzer*; it may be that the devotional fervour with which everything

connected with religion was approached by the faithful of the day cast around the illustrative efforts of the school a halo of sanctitude which made their absurdities disappear to a sympathising and uncritical onlooker. But still it may be asked with reference to those who executed the work: How was it possible to combine with the consummate skill displayed in the elaboration of the purely ornamental such an utter inability in figure-drawing as that revealed in the monstrous productions of the Celtic school of miniature-painting?

The same conventionalising tendencies as were shown in the treatment of the pure ornament reappear in the drawing and colouring of the human figure. Of actual observation and imitation of nature there is very little, indeed. In moulding the type of the head the ever-present spiral was resorted to as a capital means of putting the face into the requisite shape, by regulating the troublesome curves of the nose, the mouth, and the ears. This undoubtedly added to the regularity of the type, but unfortunately not to its beauty. Any attempt at real modelling is scarcely visible, unless it be that the fine lines which are sometimes seen to accompany the sharp, well-marked outline might mean an attempt at shading. In a type of face the linear beauty of which is expressed by the spiral it will not surprise one to find paint, for example, of green or violet applied to heighten the general effect. Regarding the body supposed to belong to this extraordinary head we do not see much of it, as it is usually hidden by a long robe or drapery, ornamented in various ways. Occasionally the whole thing is treated much in the same manner as the compartment of an initial, and filled in with spirals, fret work, or interlacings. Or, this more elaborate ornament is confined to smaller sections only or entirely displaced by some plainer pattern, the mass of the drapery being worked, for example, with a diapered design of lines and dots, while, at the same time, its folds are made visible. This is effected, not by shading, but by streaks of paint of a different colour from that in which the mass of the

III. GOSPELS OF LINDISFARNE

† ihs xps · Matheus homo

liber xl

Incipit euangelium
secundum matheu

Genealogia mathei

Abraham autem genuit ysaac

Isaac autem genuit iacob

Iacob autem genuit iudam

Iudas autem genuit phares

Phares autem genuit esron

Esron autem genuit aram

Aram autem genuit aminadab

Aminadab autem genuit naasson

Naasson autem genuit salmon

Salmon autem genuit booz

Booz autem genuit obed

Obed autem genuit iesse

Iesse autem genuit dauid regem

Dauid autem rex genuit salomonem

Salomon autem genuit roboam

Roboam autem genuit abiam

Abia autem genuit asa

Asa autem genuit iosaphat

Iosaphat autem genuit ioram

Ioram autem genuit ozian

Ozias autem genuit ioatham

Ioatham autem genuit achaz

Achaz autem genuit ezechiam

Ezechias autem genuit manasse

Manasses autem genuit amon

Amon autem genuit iosiam

Iosias autem genuit iechoniam

Et fratres eius in transmigratione babylonis

Et post transmigrationem babylonis

Iechonias genuit salathiel

Salathiel autem genuit zorobabel

Zorobabel autem genuit abiud

Abiud autem genuit eliacim

Eliacim autem genuit azor

Azor autem genuit sadoc

Sadoc autem genuit achim

Achim autem genuit eliud

Eliud autem genuit eleazar

Eleazar autem genuit mathan

Mathan autem genuit iacob

Iacob autem genuit ioseph virum

Maria de qua natus est ihesus

qui vocatur christus

Omnes ergo generationes ab abraham usque ad dauid

generationes xiiii

Et a dauid usque ad transmigrationem babylonis

generationes xiiii

Et a transmigratione babylonis usque ad christum

generationes xiiii

Christi autem generatio sic erat

Cum esset desponsata mater eius maria ioseph

antequam convenirent inventa est in utero habens

de spiritu sancto

Ioseph autem vir eius cum esset iustus

et nollet eam traducere voluit occulte dimittere eam

Hec autem eo cogitante ecce angelus domini

in somnis apparuit ei dicens

Ioseph fili dauid noli timere accipere mariam

coniugem tuam

Quod enim in ea natum est de spiritu sancto est

Pariet autem filium

et vocabis nomen eius ihesum

Ipse enim saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum

Hoc autem totum factum est

ut adimpleretur quod dictum est a domino

per prophetam dicentem

Ecce virgo in utero habebit

et pariet filium

et vocabunt nomen eius emanuhel

quod est interpretatum nobiscum deus

Exsurgens autem ioseph a somno

fecit sicut precepit ei angelus domini

et accepit coniugem suam

Et non cognoscebat eam donec peperit filium suum primogenitum

et vocauit nomen eius ihesum

Natus autem ihesus in bethleem iude

in diebus herodis regis

Ecce magi ab oriente venerunt hierosolimam

dicentes

Ubi est qui natus est rex iudeorum

vidimus enim stellam eius in oriente

et venimus adorare eum

Audiens autem herodes rex turbatus est

et omnis hierosolima cum illo

Et congregans omnes principes sacerdotum

et scribas populi sciscitabatur ab eis

ubi christus nasceretur

At illi dixerunt ei

in bethleem iude

sic enim scriptum est per prophetam

Et tu bethleem terra iuda

nequaquam minima es in principibus iuda

ex te enim exiet dux

qui regat populum meum israel

Tunc herodes clam vocatis magis

diligenter didicit ab eis tempus stelle

quod apparuit eis

et mittens illos in bethleem dixit

Ite et interrogate diligenter de puero

cum autem inveneritis renuntiate mihi

ut et ego veniens adorem eum

Qui cum audissent regem abierunt

et ecce stella quam viderant in oriente

antecedebat eos

usque dum veniens staret

super ubi erat puer

Videntes autem stellam gavisi sunt gaudio magno valde

Et intrantes domum invenerunt puerum

cum maria matre eius

et procidentes adorauerunt eum

Et apertis thesauris suis

obtulerunt ei munera

aurum thus et myrrham

Et responso accepto in somnis ne redirent ad herodem

per aliam viam reversi sunt in regionem suam

Quibus autem abeuntibus ecce angelus domini

apparuit in somnis ioseph dicens

Surge et accipe puerum et matrem eius

et fuge in egyptum

et esto ibi usque dum dicam tibi

Futurum est enim ut herodes querat puerum

ad perdendum eum

Qui consurgens accepit puerum et matrem eius

nocte et secessit in egyptum

Et erat ibi usque ad obitum herodis

ut adimpleretur quod dictum est a domino

per prophetam dicentem

Ex egypto vocavi filium meum

Tunc herodes videns quoniam illusus est a magis

iratus est valde

et mittens occidit omnes pueros

qui erant in bethleem

et in omnibus finibus eius

a bimatu et infra

secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis

Tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per ieremiam prophetam dicentem

Vox in rama audita est

ploratus et ululatus multus

rachel plorans filios suos

et noluit consolari quia non sunt

Defuncto autem herode

ecce angelus domini apparuit in somnis ioseph in egypto

dicens

Surge et accipe puerum et matrem eius

et vade in terram israel

Mortui sunt enim qui querebant animam pueri

Qui consurgens accepit puerum et matrem eius

et venit in terram israel

Audiens autem quod archelaus regnaret in iudea pro herode patre suo

timuit illuc ire

et monitus in somnis secessit in partes galilee

Et veniens habitauit in ciuitate que vocatur nazareth

ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per prophetas

quoniam nazarenus vocabitur

In diebus autem illis venit iohannes baptista

predicans in deserto iudee

et dicens

Penitentiam agite

appropinquabit enim regnum celorum

Hic enim est qui dictus est per ysaiam prophetam dicentem

Vox clamantis in deserto

parate viam domini

rectas facite semitas eius

Ipse autem iohannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camelorum

et zonam pelliceam circa lumbos suos

esca autem eius erat locusta et mel silvestre

Tunc egrediebatur ad eum hierosolima et tota iudea

et omnis regio circa iordanem

et baptizabantur in iordane flumine

confitentes peccata sua

Videns autem multos pharisaeorum et sadducaeorum

venientes ad baptismum suum

dixit eis

Genimina viperarum

quis ostendit vobis fugere a ventura ira

Facite ergo fructum dignum penitentiae

et ne velitis dicere intra vos

patrem habemus abraham

Dico enim vobis quoniam potens est deus de lapidibus istis

suscitare filios abrahe

Iam enim securis ad radicem arborum posita est

Omnis ergo arbor non faciens fructum bonum

excidetur et in ignem mittetur

Ego quidem baptizo vos in aqua in penitentiam

qui autem post me venturus est fortior me est

cuius non sum dignus calciamenta portare

Ipse vos baptizabit in spiritu sancto et igne

Cuius ventilabrum in manu sua

et permundabit aream suam

et congregabit triticum in horreum suum

paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili

Tunc venit ihesus a galilea in iordanem ad iohannem

ut baptizaretur ab eo

Iohannes autem prohibebat eum dicens

Ego a te debeo baptizari

et tu venis ad me

Respondens autem ihesus dixit ei

Sine modo

sic enim decet nos implere omnem iustitiam

Tunc dimittit eum

Baptizatus autem ihesus confestim ascendit de aqua

et ecce aperti sunt ei celi

et vidit spiritum dei descendentem sicut columbam

et venientem super se

Et ecce vox de celis dicens

Hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi complacui

Tunc ihesus ductus est in desertum a spiritu

ut temptaretur a diabolo

Et cum ieiunasset quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus

postea esuriit

Et accedens temptator dixit ei

Si filius dei es dic ut lapides isti panes fiant

Qui respondens dixit

Scriptum est

non in solo pane vivit homo

sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore dei

Tunc assumpsit eum diabolus in sanctam ciuitatem

et statuit eum super pinnaculum templi

Et dixit ei

Si filius dei es mitte te deorsum

scriptum est enim

quia angelis suis mandauit de te

et in manibus tollent te

ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum

Ait illi ihesus

Rursum scriptum est

non temptabis dominum deum tuum

Iterum assumpsit eum diabolus in montem excelsum valde

et ostendit ei omnia regna mundi et gloriam eorum

et dixit ei

Hec omnia tibi dabo

si cadens adoraueris me

Tunc dicit ei ihesus

Vade satana

scriptum est enim

dominum deum tuum adorabis

et illi soli seruies

Tunc reliquit eum diabolus

et ecce angeli accesserunt et ministrabant ei

Cum autem audisset ihesus quod iohannes traditus esset

secessit in galileam

Et relicta nazareth venit

et habitauit in capharnaum maritima

in finibus zabulon et nepthalim

ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per ysaiam prophetam dicentem

Terra zabulon et terra nepthalim

via maris trans iordanem galilea gentium

populus qui sedebat in tenebris

lucem vidit magnam

et sedentibus in regione et umbra mortis

lux orta est eis

Exinde cepit ihesus predicare et dicere

Penitentiam agite

appropinquabit enim regnum celorum

Ambulans autem ihesus iuxta mare galilee

vidit duos fratres

simonem qui vocatur petrus et andream fratrem eius

mittentes rete in mare

erant enim piscatores

Et ait illis

Venite post me

faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum

Illi autem confestim relictis retibus secuti sunt eum

Et progressus inde vidit alios duos fratres

iacobum zebedei et iohannem fratrem eius

in navi cum zebedeo patre eorum

reficientes retia sua

et vocauit eos

Illi autem confestim relicto patre et navi

et secuti sunt eum

Et circuibat ihesus totam galileam

docens in synagogis eorum

et predicans evangelium regni

et sanans omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem in populo

Et ibat fama eius per totam siriam

et obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes

varias languoribus et tormentis comprehensos

et qui dyemonia habebant

et lunaticos et paraliticos

et curauit eos

Et secuti sunt eum turbe multe

de galilea et decapoli

et hierosolimis et iudea

et de trans iordanem

Videns autem turbas ascendit in montem

et cum sedisset accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius

Et aperiens os suum docebat eos dicens

Beati pauperes spiritu

quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum

Beati mites

quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram

Beati qui lugent

quoniam ipsi consolabuntur

Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam

quoniam ipsi saturabuntur

Beati misericordes

quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur

Beati mundo corde

quoniam ipsi deum videbunt

Beati pacifici

quoniam filii dei vocabuntur

Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam

quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum

Beati estis cum maledixerint vobis homines et persecuti vos fuerint

et dixerint omne malum aduersum vos mentientes propter me

gaudete et exultate

quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in celis

Sic enim persecuti sunt prophetas qui fuerunt ante vos

Vos estis sal terre

quod si sal evanuerit in quo salietur

ad nichilum valet ultra

nisi ut mittatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus

Vos estis lux mundi

non potest ciuitas abscondi supra montem posita

Neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio

sed super candelabrum

ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt

Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus

ut videant opera vestra bona

et glorificent patrem vestrum qui in celis est

Nolite putare quoniam veni solvere legem aut prophetas

non veni solvere sed adimplere

Amen dico vobis donec transeat celum et terra

iota unum aut unus apex non preteribit a lege

donec omnia fiant

Qui ergo solverit unum de mandatis istis minimis

et docuerit sic homines minimus vocabitur in regno celorum

Qui autem fecerit et docuerit hic magnus vocabitur in regno celorum

Dico enim vobis quia nisi abundauerit iustitia vestra plus quam scribarum et pharisaeorum

non intrabitis in regnum celorum

Audistis quia dictum est antiquis

non occides

qui autem occiderit reus erit iudicio

Ego autem dico vobis

quia omnis qui irascitur fratri suo reus erit iudicio

Qui autem dixerit fratri suo raca reus erit concilio

Qui autem dixerit fatue reus erit gehenne ignis

Si ergo offers munus tuum ad altare

et ibi recordatus fueris quia frater tuus habet aliquid aduersum te

relinque ibi munus tuum ante altare

et vade prius reconciliari fratri tuo

et tunc veniens offeres munus tuum

Esto consentiens adversario tuo cito

dum es cum eo in via

ne forte tradat te aduersarius iudici

et iudex tradat te ministro

et in carcerem mittaris

Amen dico tibi

non exies inde donec reddas novissimum quadrantem

Audistis quia dictum est

non moechaberis

Ego autem dico vobis

quia omnis qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam

iam moechatus est eam in corde suo

Si autem oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te

erue eum et proice abs te

expedit enim tibi ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum

et non totum corpus tuum mittatur in gehennam

Et si dextera manus tua scandalizat te

abscide eam et proice abs te

expedit enim tibi ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum

et non totum corpus tuum eat in gehennam

Dictum est autem

quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam

det illi libellum repudii

Ego autem dico vobis

quia omnis qui dimittit uxorem suam

excepta fornicationis causa

facit eam moechari

et qui dimissam duxerit moechatur

Iterum audistis quia dictum est antiquis

non periurabis

reddes autem domino iuramenta tua

Ego autem dico vobis non iurare omnino

neque per celum quia thronus dei est

neque per terram quia scabellum est pedum eius

neque per hierusalem quia ciuitas est magni regis

neque per caput tuum iures

quia non potes unum capillum album facere aut nigrum

Sit autem sermo vester

est est non non

quod autem horum est amplius a malo est

Audistis quia dictum est

oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente

Ego autem dico vobis

non resistere malo

sed si quis te percusserit in dexteram maxillam tuam

prebe illi et alteram

Et si quis vult tecum in iudicio contendere et tunicam tuam tollere

dimitte ei et pallium

Et quicumque te angariauerit mille passus

vade et alia duo

Qui petit a te da

et volenti mutuari a te ne auertaris

Audistis quia dictum est

diliges proximum tuum et odio habebis inimicum tuum

Ego autem dico vobis

diligite inimicos vestros

benefacite his qui oderunt vos

et orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus vos

ut sitis filii patris vestri qui in celis est

qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos

et pluit super iustos et injustos

Si enim diligitis eos qui vos diligunt

quam mercedem habebitis

nonne et publicani hoc faciunt

Et si salutaveritis fratres vestros tantum

quid amplius facitis

nonne et ethnici hoc faciunt

Estote ergo vos perfecti

sicut et pater vester celestis perfectus est

Attendite ne justitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus

ut videamini ab eis

alioquin mercedem non habebitis apud patrem vestrum qui in celis est

Cum ergo facis elemosinam

noli tuba canere ante te

sicut ypocrite faciunt in synagogis et in plateis

ut honorificentur ab hominibus

Amen dico vobis

receperunt mercedem suam

Te autem faciente elemosinam

nesciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextera tua

ut sit elemosina tua in abscondito

et pater tuus qui videt in abscondito

reddet tibi

Et cum oratis

non eritis sicut ypocrite

qui amant in synagogis et in angulis platearum stantes orare

ut videantur ab hominibus

Amen dico vobis

receperunt mercedem suam

Tu autem cum oraueris intra in cubiculum tuum

et clauso ostio tuo ora patrem tuum in abscondito

et pater tuus qui videt in abscondito

reddet tibi

Orantes autem nolite multum loqui

sicut ethnici

putant enim quod in multiloquio suo exaudiantur

Nolite ergo assimilari eis

scit enim pater vester quid opus sit vobis

antequam petatis eum

Sic ergo vos orabitis

Pater noster qui es in celis

sanctificetur nomen tuum

adveniat regnum tuum

fiat voluntas tua

sicut in celo et in terra

Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie

et dimitte nobis debita nostra

sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris

Et ne nos inducas in temptationem

sed libera nos a malo

Si enim dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum

dimittet et vobis pater vester celestis

Si autem non dimiseritis hominibus

nec pater vester dimittet peccata vestra

Cum autem ieiunatis

nolite fieri sicut ypocrite tristes

exterminant enim facies suas

ut appareant hominibus ieiunantes

Amen dico vobis

receperunt mercedem suam

Tu autem ieiunans unge caput tuum

et faciem tuam lava

ne videaris hominibus ieiunans

sed patri tuo qui in abscondito est

et pater tuus qui videt in abscondito

reddet tibi

Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra

ubi erugo et tinea demolitur

et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur

Thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in celo

ubi neque erugo neque tinea demolitur

et ubi fures non effodiunt nec furantur

Ubi enim est thesaurus tuus

ibi est et cor tuum

Lucerna corporis tui est oculus

Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex

totum corpus tuum lucidum erit

Si autem oculus tuus nequam fuerit

totum corpus tuum tenebrosum erit

Si ergo lumen quod in te est tenebre sunt

ipse tenebre quante erunt

Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire

aut enim unum odio habebit et alterum diliget

aut unum sustinebit et alterum contemnet

Non potestis deo seruire et mamone

Ideo dico vobis

ne solliciti sitis anime vestre quid manducetis

neque corpori vestro quid induamini

Nonne anima plus est quam esca

et corpus plus quam vestimentum

Respicite volatilia celi

quoniam non seminant neque metunt neque congregant in horrea

et pater vester celestis pascit illa

Nonne vos magis pluris estis illis

Quis autem vestrum cogitans potest adicere ad staturam suam cubitum unum

Et de vestimento quid solliciti estis

Considerate lilia agri quomodo crescunt

non laborant neque nent

Dico autem vobis

quoniam nec salomon in omni gloria sua

coopertus est sicut unum ex istis

Si autem fenum agri

quod hodie est et cras in clibanum mittitur

deus sic vestit

quanto magis vos modice fidei

Nolite ergo solliciti esse dicentes

quid manducabimus aut quid bibemus aut quo operiemur

Hec enim omnia gentes inquirunt

scit enim pater vester quia horum omnium indigetis

Querite autem primum regnum dei et iustitiam eius

et hec omnia adicientur vobis

Nolite ergo esse solliciti in crastinum

crastinus enim dies sollicitus erit sibi ipsi

sufficit diei malitia sua

Nolite iudicare

ut non iudicemini

In quo enim iudicio iudicaueritis iudicabimini

et in qua mensura mensi fueritis remetietur vobis

Quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui

trabem autem in oculo tuo non vides

aut quomodo dicis fratri tuo

sine eiciam festucam de oculo tuo

et ecce trabes in oculo tuo

Ypocrite

eice primum trabem de oculo tuo

et tunc videbis eicere festucam de oculo fratris tui

Nolite dare sanctum canibus

neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos

ne forte conculcent eas pedibus suis

et conversi dirumpant vos

Petite et dabitur vobis

querite et invenietis

pulsate et aperietur vobis

Omnis enim qui petit accipit

et qui querit invenit

et pulsanti aperietur

Aut quis est ex vobis homo

quem si petierit filius suus panem

numquid lapidem porriget ei

Aut si piscem petierit

numquid serpentem porriget ei

Si ergo vos cum sitis mali

scitis bona data dare filiis vestris

quanto magis pater vester qui in celis est

dabit bona petentibus se

Omnia ergo quecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines

et vos facite illis

Hec est enim lex et prophete

Intrate per angustam portam

quia lata porta et spatiosa via est que ducit ad perditionem

et multi sunt qui intrant per eam

Quam angusta porta et arta via est que ducit ad vitam

et pauci sunt qui inveniunt eam

Attendite a falsis prophetis

qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ouium

intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces

A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos

Numquid colligunt de spinis uuas

aut de tribulis ficus

Sic omnis arbor bona fructus bonos facit

mala autem arbor malos fructus facit

Non potest arbor bona malos fructus facere

neque arbor mala bonos fructus facere

Omnis arbor que non facit fructum bonum

excidetur et in ignem mittetur

Igitur ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos

Non omnis qui dicit mihi domine domine

intrabit in regnum celorum

sed qui facit voluntatem patris mei qui in celis est

ipse intrabit in regnum celorum

Multi dicent mihi in illa die

domine domine

nonne in nomine tuo prophetauimus

et in nomine tuo demonia eiecimus

et in nomine tuo virtutes multas fecimus

Et tunc confitebor illis quia numquam novi vos

discedite a me qui operamini iniquitatem

Omnis ergo qui audit verba mea hec et facit ea

similabo eum viro sapienti

qui edificauit domum suam supra petram

Descendit pluvia et venerunt flumina

et flauerunt venti et irruerunt in domum illam

et non cecidit

fundata enim erat super petram

Et omnis qui audit verba mea hec et non facit ea

similis erit viro stulto

qui edificauit domum suam supra arenam

Descendit pluvia et venerunt flumina

et flauerunt venti et irruerunt in domum illam

et cecidit

et fuit ruina eius magna

Et factum est cum consummasset ihesus sermones hos

mirabantur turbe super doctrina eius

Erat enim docens eos sicut potestatem habens

et non sicut scribe eorum et pharisaei

Descendenti autem illo de monte

secute sunt eum turbe multe

Et ecce leprosus veniens adorabat eum dicens

Domine si vis potes me mundare

Et extendens ihesus manum tetigit eum dicens

Volo mundare

Et continuo mundata est lepra eius

Et ait illi ihesus

Vide nemini dixeris

sed vade ostende te sacerdoti

et offer munus quod precepit moyses in testimonium illis

Introeunti autem ihesus capharnaum

accessit ad eum centurio rogans eum et dicens

Domine puer meus iacet in domo paraliticus

et male torquetur

Et ait ihesus

Ego veniam et curabo eum

Et respondens centurio ait

Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum

sed tantum dic verbo

et sanabitur puer meus

Nam et ego homo sum sub potestate constitutus

habens sub me milites

et dico huic vade et vadit

et alii venit

et seruo meo fac hoc

et facit

Audiens autem ihesus admiratus est

et sequentibus se dixit

Amen dico vobis

apud nullum tantam fidem in israel inveni

Dico autem vobis

quia multi ab oriente et occidente venient

et recumbent cum abraham et ysaac et iacob in regno celorum

Filii autem regni eicientur in tenebras exteriores

ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium

Et dixit ihesus centurioni

Vade

sicut credidisti fiat tibi

Et sanatus est puer in hora illa

Et cum venisset ihesus in domum petri

vidit socrum eius iacentem et febricitantem

Et tetigit manum eius

et dimisit eam febris

et surrexit et ministrabat ei

Vespere autem facto

obtulerunt ei multos dyemonia habentes

et eiciebat spiritus verbo

et omnes male habentes curauit

ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per ysaiam prophetam dicentem

Ipse infirmitates nostras accepit

et egritudines portauit

Videns autem ihesus turbas multas circa se

iussit ire trans fretum

Et accedens unus scriba dixit ei

Magister sequar te quocumque ieris

Et ait illi ihesus

Vulpes foueas habent

et volucres celi tabernacula

filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput reclinet

Alius autem discipulorum eius ait illi

Domine permitte me primum ire et sepelire patrem meum

Ihesus autem ait illi

Sequere me

et dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos suos

Et ascendente illo in naviculam

secuti sunt eum discipuli eius

Et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari

ita ut navicula operiretur fluctibus

ipse vero dormiebat

Et accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius

et suscitauerunt eum dicentes

Domine saluum nos fac

perimus

Et dicit eis ihesus

Quid timidi estis modicae fidei

Tunc surgens imperauit ventis et mari

et facta est tranquillitas magna

Homines autem mirati sunt dicentes

Qualis est hic

quia et venti et mare obediunt ei

Et cum venisset trans fretum in regionem gergesenorum

occurrerunt ei duo habentes dyemonia

de monumentis exeuntes

et ecce clamauerunt dicentes

Quid nobis et tibi ihesu fili dei

Venisti huc ante tempus torquere nos

Erat autem procul ab illis grex porcorum multus pascens

Dyemones autem rogabant eum dicentes

Si eicis nos hinc

mitte nos in gregem porcorum

Et ait illis

Ite

Illi autem exeuntes abierunt in porcos

et ecce impetu abiit omnis grex per precipitium in mare

et mortui sunt in aquis

Pastores autem fugerunt

et abeuntes in ciuitatem

nuntiauerunt omnia

et de his qui dyemonia habebant

Et ecce omnis ciuitas exiit obviam ihesu

et videntes eum rogauerunt ut transiret a finibus eorum

Et ascendens navem transfretauit

et venit in ciuitatem suam

Et ecce offerebant ei hominem paraliticum

iacentem in lecto

Et videns ihesus fidem illorum

dixit paralitico

Confide fili

remittuntur tibi peccata tua

Et ecce quidam de scribis dixerunt intra se

Hic blasphemat

Et cum videret ihesus cogitationes eorum

dixit

Ut quid cogitatis mala in cordibus vestris

Quid est facilius dicere

dimittuntur tibi peccata

an dicere

surge et ambula

Ut autem sciatis quia filius hominis habet potestatem in terra

dimittendi peccata

tunc ait paralitico

Surge tolle lectum tuum et vade in domum tuam

Et surrexit et abiit in domum suam

Videntes autem turbe timuerunt

et glorificauerunt deum

qui dedit potestatem talem hominibus

Et transiens inde ihesus vidit hominem sedentem in telonio

matheum nomine

et ait illi

Sequere me

Et surgens secutus est eum

Et factum est discumbente illo in domo

et ecce multi publicani et peccatores venientes

discumbebant cum ihesu et discipulis eius

Et videntes pharisaei dicebant discipulis eius

Quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducat magister vester

Ihesus autem audiens ait

Non egent qui sani sunt medico

sed qui male habent

Euntes autem discite quid est

misericordiam volo et non sacrificium

Non enim veni vocare iustos

sed peccatores

Tunc accesserunt ad eum discipuli iohannis dicentes

Quare nos et pharisaei ieiunamus frequenter

discipuli autem tui non ieiunant

Et ait illis ihesus

Numquid possunt filii sponsi

quamdiu cum illis est sponsus

lugere

Venient autem dies

cum auferetur ab eis sponsus

et tunc ieiunabunt

Nemo autem committit figmentum panni rudis

in vestimento veteri

tollit enim plenitudinem eius a vestimento

et peior scissura fit

Neque mittunt vinum novum in utres veteres

alioquin rumpuntur utres

et vinum effunditur

et utres pereunt

Sed vinum novum in utres novos mittendum est

et utraque conservantur

Hec illo loquente ad illos

ecce princeps unus accessit et adorabat eum

dicens

Quia filia mea modo defuncta est

sed veni

impone manum tuam super eam

et vivet

Et surgens ihesus sequebatur eum

et discipuli eius

Et ecce mulier que sanguinis fluxum patiebatur duodecim annis

accessit retro

et tetigit fimbriam vestimenti eius

Dicebat enim intra se

Si tetigero tantum vestimentum eius

salua ero

Ihesus autem conversus

et videns eam dixit

Confide filia

fides tua te saluam fecit

Et salua facta est mulier ex illa hora

Et cum venisset ihesus in domum principis

et vidisset tibicines et turbam

et ait

Recedite

non enim mortua est puella

sed dormit

Et deridebant eum

Et cum ejecta esset turba

intravit

et tenuit manum eius

Et surrexit puella

Et exiit fama hec in totam illam terram

Et transeunti inde ihesu

secuti sunt eum duo ceci

clamantes et dicentes

Miserere nostri fili dauid

Cum autem venisset domum

accesserunt ad eum ceci

Et dicit eis ihesus

Creditis quia possum hoc facere

Dicunt ei

Utique domine

Tunc tetigit oculos eorum

dicens

Secundum fidem vestram fiat vobis

Et aperti sunt oculi eorum

Et comminatus est illis ihesus dicens

Videte ne quis sciat

Illi autem exeuntes diffamauerunt eum in tota illa terra

Egredientibus autem illis

ecce obtulerunt ei hominem mutum dyemonium habentem

Et ejecto dyemonio

locutus est mutus

Et admirate sunt turbe dicentes

Numquam apparuit sic in israel

Pharisaei autem dicebant

In principe dyemoniorum eicit dyemonia

Et circuibat ihesus ciuitates omnes et castella

docens in synagogis eorum

et predicans evangelium regni

et curans omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem

Videns autem turbas misertus est eis

quia erant vexati et jacentes sicut oves non habentes pastorem

Tunc dicit discipulis suis

Messis quidem multa

operarii autem pauci

Rogate ergo dominum messis

ut mittat operarios in messem suam

Et convocatis duodecim discipulis suis

dedit illis potestatem spirituum immundorum

ut eicerent eos

et curarent omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem

Nomina autem duodecim apostolorum sunt hec

Primus simon qui dicitur petrus

et andreas frater eius

iacobus zebedei

et iohannes frater eius

philippus et bartholomeus

thomas et matheus publicanus

iacobus alphei

et lebeus qui cognominatus est thaddeus

simon chananeus

et iudas iscariotes

qui et traditor fuit eius

Hos duodecim misit ihesus

precipiens eis dicens

In viam gentium ne abieritis

et in ciuitates samaritanorum ne intraveritis

Sed potius ite ad oves que perierunt domus israel

Euntes autem predicate dicentes

quia appropinquabit regnum celorum

Infirmos curate

leprosos mundate

mortuos suscitate

dyemonia eicite

Gratis accepistis

gratis date

Nolite possidere aurum neque argentum

neque pecuniam in zonis vestris

non peram in via

neque duas tunicas

neque calciamenta neque virgam

Dignus enim est operarius cibo suo

In quamcumque autem ciuitatem aut castellum intraveritis

interrogate quis in ea dignus sit

et ibi manete donec exeatis

Intrantes autem domum salutate eam

Et si quidem fuerit domus illa digna

veniat pax vestra super eam

Si autem non fuerit digna

pax vestra ad vos revertatur

Et quicumque non receperit vos

neque audierit sermones vestros

exeuntes foras domum aut ciuitatem illam

excutite pulverem de pedibus vestris

Amen dico vobis

tolerabilius erit terre sodomorum et gomorreorum in die iudicii

quam illi ciuitati

Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum

Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes

et simplices sicut columbe

Cavete autem ab hominibus

tradent enim vos in consiliis suis

et in synagogis suis flagellabunt vos

Et ante presides et reges ducemini propter me

in testimonium illis et gentibus

Cum autem tradent vos

nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini

dabitur enim vobis in illa hora quid loquamini

non enim vos estis qui loquimini

sed spiritus patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis

Tradet autem frater fratrem in mortem

et pater filium

et insurgent filii in parentes

et morte afficient eos

Et eritis odio omnibus propter nomen meum

Qui autem perseuerauerit usque in finem

hic saluus erit

Cum autem persequentur vos in ciuitate hac

fugite in aliam

Amen dico vobis

non consummabitis omnes ciuitates israel

donec veniat filius hominis

Non est discipulus super magistrum

neque seruus super dominum suum

Sufficit discipulo ut sit sicut magister eius

et seruus sicut dominus eius

Si patremfamilias beelzebub vocauerunt

quanto magis domesticos eius

Ergo ne timueritis eos

nichil enim est opertum quod non revelabitur

et occultum quod non scietur

Quod dico vobis in tenebris

dicite in lumine

et quod in aure auditis

predicate super tecta

Et nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus

animam autem non possunt occidere

sed potius timete eum qui potest et animam et corpus

perdere in gehenna

Nonne duo passeres asse veneunt

et unus ex illis non cadet super terram sine patre vestro

Vestri autem et capilli capitis omnes numerati sunt

Nolite ergo timere

multis passeribus pluris estis vos

Omnis ergo qui confitebitur me coram hominibus

confitebor et ego eum coram patre meo qui in celis est

Qui autem negauerit me coram hominibus

negabo et ego eum coram patre meo qui in celis est

Nolite arbitrari quia pacem venerim mittere in terram

non veni pacem mittere sed gladium

Veni enim separare hominem adversus patrem suum

et filiam adversus matrem suam

et nurum adversus socrum suam

Et inimici hominis domestici eius

Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me

non est me dignus

Et qui amat filium aut filiam plus quam me

non est me dignus

Et qui non accipit crucem suam et sequitur me

non est me dignus

Qui invenit animam suam perdet illam

et qui perdiderit animam suam propter me

inveniet eam

Qui recipit vos me recipit

et qui me recipit recipit eum qui misit me

Qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophete

mercedem prophete accipiet

Et qui recipit justum in nomine justi

mercedem justi accipiet

Et quicumque potum dederit uni ex minimis istis

calicem aque frigide tantum in nomine discipuli

Amen dico vobis

non perdet mercedem suam

Et factum est cum consummasset ihesus precipiens duodecim discipulis suis

transiit inde

ut doceret et predicaret in ciuitatibus eorum

Johannes autem audiens in vinculis opera christi

misit duos de discipulis suis

Et ait illi

Tu es qui venturus es

an alium exspectamus

Et respondens ihesus dixit eis

Euntes renuntiate iohanni quae audistis et vidistis

Ceci vident

claudi ambulant

leprosi mundantur

surdi audiunt

mortui resurgunt

pauperes evangelizantur

Et beatus est qui non fuerit scandalizatus in me

Illis autem abeuntibus

cepit ihesus dicere ad turbas de iohanne

Quid existis in desertum videre

arundinem vento agitatam

Sed quid existis videre

hominem mollibus vestimentis indutum

Ecce qui mollibus vestimentis vestiuntur

in domibus regum sunt

Sed quid existis videre

prophetam

Etiam dico vobis

et plus quam prophetam

Hic est enim de quo scriptum est

Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam

qui preparabit viam tuam ante te

Amen dico vobis

non surrexit inter natos mulierum

maior iohanne baptista

Qui autem minor est in regno celorum

maior est illo

A diebus autem iohannis baptiste usque nunc

regnum celorum vim patitur

et violenti rapiunt illud

Omnes enim prophete et lex usque iohannem prophetauerunt

Et si vultis recipere

ipse est helias qui venturus est

Qui habet aures audiendi audiat

Cui autem similem estimabo generationem istam

Similis est pueris sedentibus in foro

qui clamantes dicunt

Cantauimus vobis tibia

et non saltastis

lamentauimus

et non planxistis

Venit enim iohannes neque manducans neque bibens

et dicunt

Dyemonium habet

Venit filius hominis manducans et bibens

et dicunt

Ecce homo devorator et bibens vinum

amicus publicanorum et peccatorum

Et justificata est sapientia a filiis suis

Tunc cepit exprobrare ciuitatibus in quibus factae sunt plurimae virtutes eius

quia non egissent penitentiam

Vae tibi corozain

vae tibi bethsaida

quia si in tyro et sidone facte essent virtutes que facte sunt in vobis

olim in cinere et cilicio penitentiam egissent

Verumtamen dico vobis

tyro et sidoni remissius erit in die iudicii

quam vobis

Et tu capharnaum

numquid usque in celum exaltaberis

usque in infernum descendes

Quia si in sodomis facte essent virtutes que facte sunt in te

forsitan remansissent usque in hodiernum diem

Verumtamen dico vobis

quia terre sodomorum remissius erit in die iudicii

quam tibi

In illo tempore respondens ihesus dixit

Confiteor tibi pater domine celi et terre

quia abscondisti hec a sapientibus et prudentibus

et revelasti ea parvulis

Etiam pater

quoniam sic fuit placitum ante te

Omnia mihi tradita sunt a patre meo

Et nemo novit filium nisi pater

neque patrem quis novit nisi filius

et cui voluerit filius revelare

Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis

et ego reficiam vos

Tollite jugum meum super vos

et discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde

et invenietis requiem animabus vestris

Jugum enim meum suave est

et onus meum leve

In illo tempore ibat ihesus sabbatis per sata

Discipuli autem eius esurientes

coeperunt vellere spicas et manducare

Pharisaei autem videntes dixerunt ei

Ecce discipuli tui faciunt quod non licet facere sabbatis

Ipse autem dixit eis

Numquam legistis quid fecerit dauid

quando esuriit ipse et qui cum eo erant

quomodo intravit in domum dei

et panes propositionis manducavit

quos non licebat ei manducare

neque his qui cum eo erant

sed solis sacerdotibus

Aut non legistis in lege

quia sacerdotes in templo sabbatum violant

et sine crimine sunt

Dico autem vobis

quia templo maior hic est

Si autem scissetis quid est

misericordiam volo et non sacrificium

numquam condemnassetis innocentes

Dominus enim est filius hominis etiam sabbati

Et cum inde transisset

venit in synagogam eorum

Et ecce homo manum habens aridam

Et interrogabant eum dicentes

Si licet sabbatis curare

ut accusarent eum

Ipse autem dixit ad illos

Quis erit ex vobis homo qui habeat ovem unam

et si hec cadat sabbatis in foveam

nonne tenebit et levabit eam

Quanto ergo melior est homo ove

Itaque licet sabbatis benefacere

Tunc ait homini

Extende manum tuam

Et extendit

et restituta est sanitati sicut altera

Exeuntes autem pharisaei

consilium faciebant adversus eum

quemad

drapery is painted. The intensely decorative treatment shown in the surface enrichments, in the spiral details, and the impossible colours of the human figure, also characterises the representations of animal forms. Here it is, if possible, even more conspicuous. The spiral recurs in the ears, jaws, and junctions of the limbs with the body. The whole space of the body is frequently covered with an intricate pattern of some of the ordinary types, and the colours are distributed without the slightest regard to nature. An example illustrative of the method of procedure deserves to be recorded. It is taken from a copy of the Gospels dating from the twelfth century and now preserved among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum.[1] The figure in question represents the lion of St. Mark. The head is of the conventional type, and the tail foliated. The colours employed are red, white, green, and yellow, the former two being used for the head, while half of the body is painted green, and the other half yellow.

From what has been said about the peculiarities of the Celtic miniatures it will be inferred that they are no masterpieces in way of illustration. And yet they are not so utterly destitute of all artistic merit as some people think. When carefully executed, as in the books of the best period, they often combine very well with the purely ornamental work of the broad surrounding borders, to heighten the decorative effect of the page. And there are miniature pages, as, for example, in the *Book of Kells*[2], where the odd formulæ in which the figures appear are in such a singular harmony with the innermost character of the ornament, and the two elements, miniature and ornament, so admirably united into a consistent whole of most original aspect that we are well justified in speaking of a *style*, with reference to similar productions.

[1] *Harl. MS. 1802*, Brit. Mus.
[2] *MS. A. 1. 6.*, Trinity Coll., Dublin.

§ VIII

REFIXED to each of the Gospels in the Celtic illuminated copies of the Sacred Word is, as a rule, a representation of the Evangelist. This picture occupies a separate page, and is enclosed within a magnificent border. Occasionally it is accompanied by another miniature page, which bears the figure of his symbol. Or the Evangelist and his symbol will be seen inserted in the same page; and in books of later times and inferior workmanship a simple outline drawing of the emblem would be deemed sufficient illustration. Other subjects are of less frequency. In the *Book of Kells* there are pictures suggested by Scripture history, representing the Virgin and Child, Christ on the pinnacle of the temple, and Christ seized by the Jews. And in other instances we meet with a painting of the Crucifixion or of Christ in Glory. In the Celtic illuminated Psalters, which seem, so far as decoration is concerned, to have been less generously treated than the Gospel-books, we also find some miniatures. David playing on the harp, David and Goliath, and David rending the jaws of the lion, are the chief subjects represented in the small paintings that occur at the head of each of the three traditional sections of Psalms. According to a fashion which seems to be of high antiquity, and which, in the later Middle Ages, led to the method of introducing among the miniatures of the Psalter a whole series of paintings illustrative of the Life of Christ, some additional illustration referring to the New Testament history would be inserted, the most common being that of the Crucifixion.

It might be supposed that a school characterised by the intense Celticism of these and similar productions owed little or nothing to the art of miniature painting as cultivated outside of the Celtic area. Yet this is not the case. In spite of a curiously unique style and feeling in design, the decorative paintings with scriptural subjects which occur in the Celtic Psalters and Gospel-books are not to be regarded as original inventions, but merely as copies which

are ultimately traceable to non-Celtic models. If we compare, for example, the representations of the Evangelists in the Celtic Gospels with those found in Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine illuminated manuscripts of contemporary or still remoter date, we find a remarkable correspondence in invention combined with striking contrasts in execution. On the one side we have a work which, though belonging to a debased period, still bears the impress of classical art; perfectly intelligible as to its meaning; showing some observation of nature, and treated with as much grace and freedom as might be expected from a style of art languishing under the mosaic *régime*. The Evangelist appears as a man of advanced age. His head, of a careworn but noble type, is surrounded by a golden nimbus, and his body draped in an ecclesiastical robe. He is usually represented seated, writing his Gospel; a desk of a peculiar type, with writing-utensils, is placed at his side, while a drapery and architectural work serve to indicate the nature of the locality. The whole is laid on a golden ground and framed either by a round arch supported by columns or by a highly-ornamental border. Of the four pictures that of St. John is occasionally seen to differ more markedly from the others, inasmuch as it represents a young man seated in a desolate place, writing, while an aged man is seen at his side, lost in contemplation of the celestial secrets which are revealed to him by the »*Dextera Dei*». This is the work of the Byzantine artist. And now turning to the other side, we meet with a fanciful device, which from a comparison with its semi-classical pendant only looks more barbarous than ever, full of defects in design and utterly absurd in colouring, testifying to an absolute incapacity of rendering natural forms naturally. And yet, on a closer inspection, this work will be seen to have so much in common with the other one: in the motive selected, in the pose of the figure, in the shape and arrangement of the drapery, and even in the details of accessories, such as seat, cushion, draped background, etc., that we can scarcely entertain any doubt that they are

actually related as model and copy. How this was brought about has yet to be shown. In dealing with a dim and distant period of the Middle Ages, we realise the difficulty of tracing, with anything approaching to accuracy, the historical lines of intercourse between nations and peoples; the more so, when we bear in mind that an ample portion of the written records of the day are of the legendary mould, and, accordingly, should be employed with great reserve. In a following article, in which the broader question of the origination of Celtic design in general has to be treated, it is proposed to pursue further our research on the descent of the Celtic miniatures, by adding to the internal evidence such information as can be gathered from authenticated history.

§ IX

BEFORE entering on a discussion of the effect and value of the peculiar style of art exhibited in the illuminated manuscripts of the Celtic school, it was necessary first to pass over the whole field and try to get a general outlook, by analysing the whole complex growth of Celtic ornament and classifying its different elements. This done, we are in a position more keenly to discern the characteristics of the separate groups and also to grasp better the effect of the *ensemble*. And we are bound to say, the peculiar beauty of this style of ornament chiefly depends on the *ensemble*. Although showing a variety of forms, which testify to the admirable capacity of the designer both in invention and execution, yet the separate element of decoration gains its real significance, only when grouped together with other motives in a composite scheme. The Celtic illuminator was well aware of that, and, accordingly, tried to the best of his powers to combine his patterns so as to produce a rich and pleasing effect. And it must be admitted that his faculty of artistic composition was assuredly not inferior either to his fertility of invention or to his executive skill.

His method was to divide the surface to be decorated, whether it was the whole space of a page, or the long,

narrow band of a border, or the irregularly shaped body of an initial, into a series of sections and afterwards to fill in each of these with a pattern of its own. The shape of the divisions, separated from each other by means of marginal lines, was partly ruled by the outline of the space to be divided. Thus, while the all-round border and the full-page decoration, delineated on a strictly rectangular plan, usually present a series of panels of square, oblong, or otherwise rectangular shape, compartments bounded by curved lines, alternating with rectilinear panels, were dictated by the outline of the large irregular initial or of the partial border. The manner in which the pattern is selected and adjusted to suit the shape of the panel or compartment reveals a considerable amount of skill and taste. Spirals were chiefly used to fill in the irregular sections of the body of the letter and its curvilinear enclosed spaces, where, owing to a certain freedom in fixing the centres and making volutes of varying size, they were easily adapted and in keeping with the flowing outline of the margin. Interlacements were less easily adapted, but could be made to suit an irregular space, for instance, by forming a chain of knots of varying size and intricacy; whereas fret patterns were even more rarely used outside of the square or oblong panels, for which they were naturally suited. Thus the disposal of the various designs was ruled by taste, and actually effected what it aimed at, viz., the combination of contrasting elements in a graceful scheme. In pages where the ornament groups round a well-defined centre there is a tendency towards symmetrical arrangement. This is shown, for example, in miniature-pages that have a broad ornamental border run right round the picture of the Evangelist or that of his symbol. But the most beautiful example of symmetrical composition, uniting a pleasing variety of details with solid structure, is supplied by the page, entirely overgrown with ornament supported by a cruciform design, which is generally seen to precede the initial page.

In a Gospel-book of the richest type we have no

fewer than four highly-decorative pages placed at the commencement of each Gospel. First, there is a page containing the picture of the Evangelist, enclosed within an elaborate border; next, there is one containing his symbol, also with border work; then, there is a full ornamental page with the cruciform design to which we have just referred; and, lastly, we have the initial page, in which the first words of the Gospel are painted or written in characters of more or less decorative aspect. First among these in size and splendour is the initial, often extending to the full height of the page. Occasionally an all-round border, similar to those of the preceding leaves, may be seen also in this page. But often the ornamented body of the initial was deemed sufficient decoration for the one half of the page, and a particular border only designed for the other half so as to meet the extremities of the initial and supplement it with corner-pieces in the vacancies. In the space left between border and initial there are rows of letters which gradually decrease in height and decoration until they pass into ordinary characters. In addition to these there are one or two other pages which received special attention, the principal being that — in the Gospel of St. Matthew — in which the verse: »*XPI autem generatio sic erat*», offered its monogrammatic contraction of the name of Christ to decorative treatment. The page is arranged much in the same manner as the ordinary initial page. The monogram is drawn in letters of bold, magnificent outline, and brilliantly ornamented. There is a beautiful instance in the *Book of Kells*, presumably surpassing, as a piece of decoration, anything to be met with in any other written book. It is a page to discourage even the most accomplished and most enthusiastic of modern draughtsmen. In nine cases out of ten he will break down before his work is half finished; or, if he should really succeed in completing it, he will have to expend upon it an amount of time and labour out of all proportion to the apparent result of his work. Mr. Digby Wyatt made an attempt, and had to give it up. Professor J. O. Westwood, who

was a great admirer of Irish art and at the same time a skilled draughtsman, went to work with no better result. And he was assuredly not one to be discouraged by difficulties arising from variety of colours and intricacy of design. No one who has had an opportunity of examining the leaves of the big volume containing the Professor's original tracings and now deposited in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, can have failed to be struck by the minute accuracy of his delineations and the immense pains taken in rendering even the most complicated passages of Celtic ornament. And yet the copying of the monogram page of the *Book of Kells* was, if not beyond his powers, at least too long and serious an affair to be duly brought to completion. We are indebted to Miss Margaret Stokes, the accomplished writer on Celtic antiquities, for possessing, at last, a copy[1] perfectly finished and worthy of an original which the same author, in a brilliant passage referring to its unique variety of design, has signalised as »an epitome of Irish art».[2]

Before leaving the ornamental compositions in the illuminated copies of the Gospels, we must not omit mention of the frame work enclosing the Eusebian Canons. Occasionally it appears in the traditional form of a series of arches supported by columns and spanned by a superior arch. Or the whole is confined to a border carried all round the page. In both cases the patterns employed are of the ordinary types; and the Celtic fashion of treating any space to be decorated as a flat surface, reappears in the decoration of the columns, with shafts, bases, and capitals enriched on the panel principle.

Of illuminated Psalters now extant there are none to equal the finest Gospel-books, so far as decoration is concerned. They are smaller in size, less carefully executed, and, in their ornament and character of writing, present

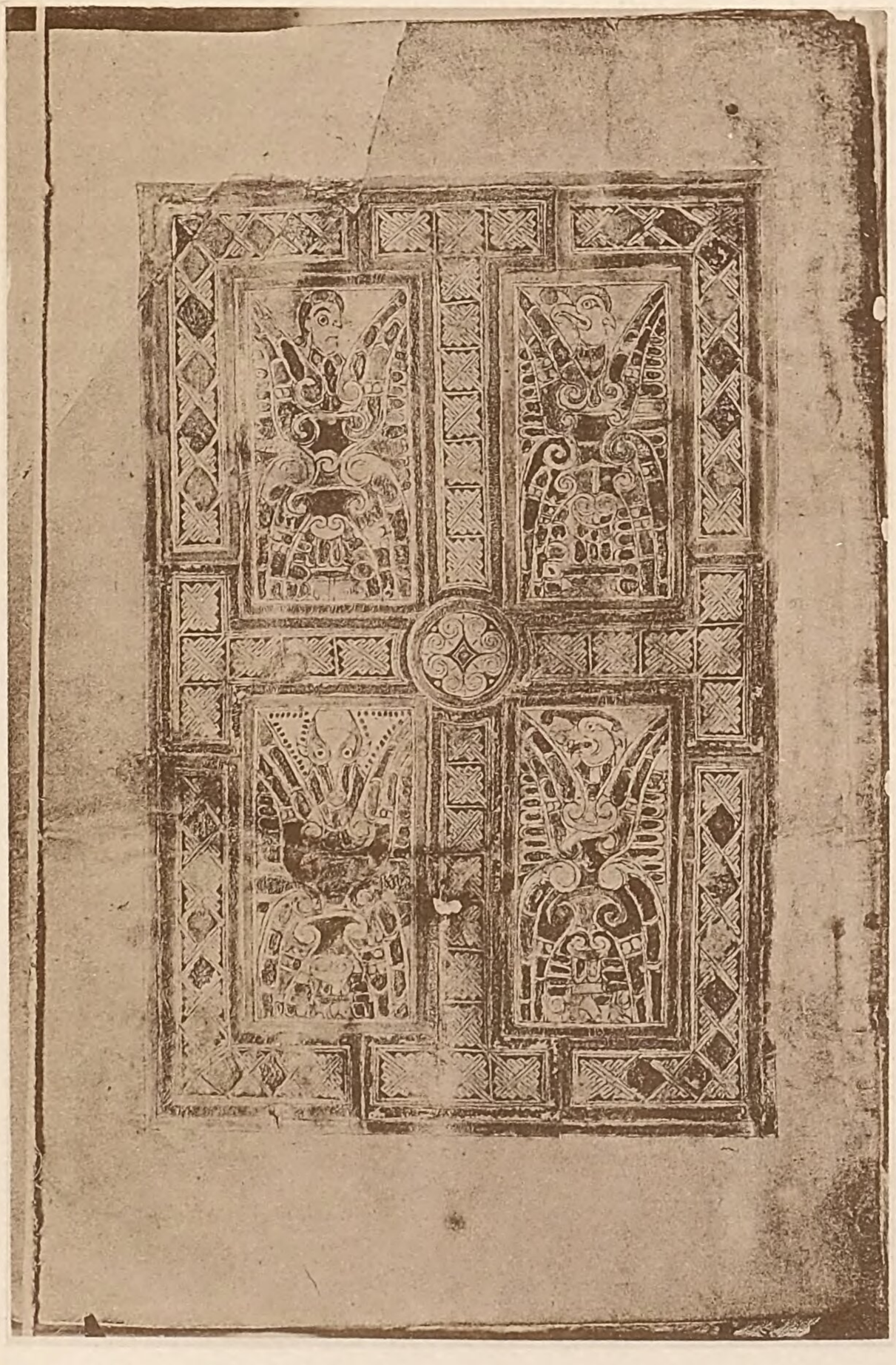
[1] Now deposited in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin; a chromolithographic reproduction, which, however, as to softness and harmony of colour leaves much to be desired, may be seen in *Vetusta Monumenta,* vol. VI, plate I.

[2] Margaret Stokes, *Early Christian art in Ireland,* London, 1887, p. 13.

features that enable us to assign them, with one or two exceptions, to a period when the art of book-illumination had passed its culminating point. An ornamental initial will be seen at the head of each of the three divisions of Psalms; and a leaf with a picture is occasionally prefixed to each section.

§ X COLOUR as a means of heightening decorative effect was made a liberal use of in Irish art. At an early period the native of the Isle knew how to relieve the sombre tone of his bronzes by the use of *champ-levé* enamel. And in the Christian era he possessed a variety of methods of work by which he was able to impart a picturesque appearance even to a material which does not readily admit of much variation in that point. There are still extant, in fairly good preservation and sufficient numbers, specimens of Irish metal work of the Christian centuries, showing how much he revelled in bright and varied colours in that class of work; and how manifold and ingenious were his devices in effecting pleasing contrasts of colour. One was to combine in the manufacture of the work different metals or alloys. Thus in many cases we find three, four, or even five different metals applied for constructive and decorative purposes, gold and silver being added to bronze and simpler materials. This method, dictated by judicious economy, contributed in no small degree to the introduction of a pleasing picturesque variety. Small golden panels ornamented with twisted or granulated rods and minute patterns of most exquisite workmanship were fixed on, for example, to a surface of silver, with a finer effect than could ever be produced by the same kind of work if entirely wrought in gold. Or a plate of metal with a pierced pattern was rivetted on another plate in such a manner that the surface of the latter became partly visible through the openings. Then, there were the various methods of enamelling, of gilding, and bronzing, of inlaying with niello; the settings of coloured glasses,

IV. GOSPELS OF MAC DURNAN



crystals, and pieces of amber; all tending to enliven and beautify by contrast of colour.

In this connexion, though only concerned with the Celtic metal work in its polychromatic aspect, we can not refrain from a remark in passing. And that is that the crude notion of the value of an *objet d'art* — especially in the case of metal work — as being chiefly dependent on the richness and splendour of the material employed, will never be more readily abandoned than in studying the productions of the Celtic school of metal workers. What lends to their work its value is certainly not the weight of precious metal spent on it, or any matchless brilliancy of the materials used for the settings. Compared with an Eastern work, heavy with gold and set with rubies and amethysts, the Celtic work would look very poor, indeed, so far as material is concerned; composed as it is, in its main mass, of some plainer metal, with coloured glasses, pieces of amber, and rock-crystals — rather than rubies and amethysts. And yet, from the point of view of art, how immensely superior is a work in which, like the Celtic specimen, a poorer stuff is ennobled by judicious arrangement in structure and refinement of taste in decoration to that which chiefly owes its significance to the costliness of the material, as do so many gorgeous products of Oriental art.

Mr. Henry O'Neill, in his work on the *high crosses* of Ireland, has expressed an opinion that the patterns cut in relief on these beautiful specimens of ancient Irish stone sculpture were intended to receive a finishing touch by polychromatic treatment.[1] When we consider what a great part colour plays in Irish ornament, we must admit his assumption to have at least some show of reason; but, on the other hand, as there is no trace of colour left to support his theory, it may be well to leave the question an open one.

[1] *Illustrations of the most interesting of the sculptured crosses of Ancient Ireland;* drawn to scale and lithographed by Henry O'Neill; London, 1857; Introduction, p. III; *cfr. The fine arts and civilization of Ancient Ireland,* by the same author; London, 1863, p. 72.

In no class of works, however, produced by Celtic artificers has the love of colour found a more perfect and more beautiful expression than in the pages of the illuminated manuscripts. It is not easy to decide what is most to be admired in these, the delicate touch and facile dexterity in designing, or the exquisite colouring. Among the colours applied to the decoration of the finer specimens there are black and white in addition to the whole series of the spectrum, from a fiery red to the deepest ultramarine and violet. Moreover, there are shades of the same colour differing in tone and depth. More particularly is such the case with the green, the yellow, and the violet, which colours are varied and combined with special grace and treated throughout *con amore.* A very full set of colours will, not infrequently, be seen exhibited in the same page. Gold is very rare. It occurs in the *Gospels of Lindisfarne,* where it is used very sparingly for some small circular dots and triangular interstices; but in manuscripts written in the native Isle it is practically unknown. It is doubtful whether the Irish illuminators knew the practice of silver and bronze applications. Occasionally a reddish or brownish colour so closely agrees with the tone of the latter material that it might, at first sight, be mistaken for a metal application.

The general effect produced by an illuminated page is largely dependent on the prevalence of the darker or brighter elements. Thus there is a very marked difference in tone and feeling between, for example, a decorated page in the *Gospels of Lindisfarne,* with its light, gay colours, and a corresponding page in the *Book of Kells,* in which the darker and heavier tones are predominant. Hence, a sparkling brightness on the one side; on the other a certain sombre dignity. In examining more closely an illuminated page we notice one point of special significance. And that is the masterly way in which the colours are selected and distributed with a view to make the most of the design, and at the same time combined so as to keep in perfect harmony with each other. Considering the minute and

delicate nature of the design, one might think, the introduction of colour would make the pattern disappear, and the whole result in a confused mass of pigments. But this is far from being the case. On the contrary, the colours are applied in such a way as to make even the most minute pattern come out beautifully clear and distinct. One method was to introduce a strong contrast between pattern and background. By a black or dark ground, which is very common, and may be said to be a rule in the best works, a pattern painted in brighter colours, even if it be of minute proportions, will be seen to be raised in a most effective manner. A further means of emphasising the outline of the design was to run a fine edging of a very light tint, usually white or yellow, along the contour; and thus cut it, so to say, out of its ground. This method of edging an outline with a fine band of a strongly contrasting colour is a characteristic feature of Celtic illumination, and, simple though it is, contributes in no small degree to the pleasing distinctness of its details. In being applied to the marginal lines which enclose the separate panel, as well as to the still broader margins of the whole body of an initial or a border, it affects the composition of the whole complex ornament, by rendering the outline of the chief divisions, as well as of the whole mass, strong and clear. Another characteristic may be seen in the row of dots accompanying the outline of the initial. Occasionally it extends to embrace whole rows of letters in the same page. In this case the vacant spaces intervening between the letters, and also the enclosed parts of the letters used to be filled in altogether with rows of dots, more or less regularly disposed; or with the scheme of a fret, interlaced, or zoomorphic motive, punctured out on the same principle. The dotted lines and patterns are mostly in red.

Geometrical interlacings were often painted in sections of alternating colours, like chequer work; and the same method is occasionally seen to have been followed also in the case of fret work. But in no group of patterns was

colour applied with a finer effect than in the case of spirals. The small sections worked with these designs afford, in fact, the most exquisite details of decoration to be met with in Celtic art. A pattern of quadruple spirals designed on the minute scale of Celtic book-decoration is rather a mysterious affair, hardly intelligible as an ornament. But thanks to a judicious application of a variety of vivid colours and the unfailing precision with which pattern and background are made to contrast, the ornament comes out as distinctly as might be desired. In this way the whole of the space to be illuminated, even in its smallest interstices, is gradually laid with pigments; and an ornamental composition of unrivalled merit, equally finished in design and colouring, is the final result of long painstaking and devoted labours.

The pigments, carefully prepared according to formulæ the secrets of which are unfortunately lost to modern manufacture, still retain, in many cases, a great deal of their original force and lustre. Even in pages so worn and blackened by age and vicissitudes as to be all but illegible, the tints of the colouring can still be made out from patches left. And there are those, unaffected by age and accidents, in which everything, vellum, writing, and colouring, is so beautifully clean and fresh that you might hold it a work of yesterday, were it not for the strange-looking type of letter and the quaint and queer old ornament. Such a book is the manuscript known as the *Gospels of Lindisfarne* or the *Book of Durham,* which was written twelve centuries ago. There is one other point worthy of notice, before we leave the subject of colour. And that is the very liberal way in which the paint was laid on. There are pages in which the pigments are, in fact, so lavishly applied as almost to raise the pattern in relief. The effect produced by such a work, with its lustrous, thickly-laid pigments, occasionally recalls that of a minute Venetian mosaic or some highly-finished enamel work. Some fine examples may be seen in a dainty little copy of the Gospels, now one of the chief

treasures of the Archiepiscopal library at Lambeth[1]; and some others of still higher perfection meet us in the pages of the often-mentioned famous production of the School of Lindisfarne[2]. A good photograph will render even the most minute details of the ornament, so far as its linear element goes, with all desirable accuracy; but there is no mechanical process among those hitherto invented that can give an adequate idea of such an illumination in its picturesque aspect. A chromo-lithographic reproduction, even if carefully prepared, seldom catches the tone and feeling of the original, or gives us more than an approximate resemblance. This is true more especially with reference to the attempts that have been made to reproduce in print the colours of Celtic illuminations. We have to turn to the manuscript itself if we want to judge fairly of its merits and realise the lustre, softness, and harmony of its ornament.

§ XI

LEAVING now the analytical portion of our subject, we turn to the question of the *chronology* and historical progress of the school whose leading characteristics have been specified in the previous pages. And in so doing it may be well to state at the outset that we are not in a position to show, by means of still extant specimens, anything like a gradual and continuous development along the line rising towards the culminating point. This may be due either to the disappearance of nearly all such works as ought to mark the successive steps along that line; or to the possibility that such a procedure as a gradual elaboration of the patterns never took place in the pages of the illuminated manuscripts. However that may be, it is significant that the earliest extant specimen the date of which can be fixed with some certainty shows the style fully developed, while the very limited number of manuscripts that can, on more or less thrifty grounds, be credited with a still higher

[1] The *Gospels of Mac Durnan.*
[2] *Cotton. MS. Nero D. 4.*, Brit. Mus.

antiquity are either in such a deplorable state of preservation or so scantily equipped in way of ornament as hardly to allow of any conclusion being drawn, one way or the other, from the nature of their ornamentation.

In this last-mentioned group we may include two small, time-worn volumes which tradition has associated with the names of the very founders of the Celtic Church, and which, until recently, the *savants* also were wont to look upon as genuine relics from the earliest days of Irish Christianity. The one is a fragmentary copy of the Gospels, now preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, and generally known as the *Domnach Airgid* manuscript[1] (see *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. I, plate I; *Transactions R. I. A.*, vol. XXX, parts VII, VIII, plate XX). When brought into the collection of the Academy, in A. D. 1847, the fragments were enshrined in a costly specimen of ancient Celtic metal work, which, from an inscription of the fourteenth century, is seen to have belonged at that period to the monastery of Clones,[2] and which was subsequently known for a length of time as the *Domnach*. Hence, the name of its contents. In this shrine some blackened lumps, held to be the remnants of one of the earliest copies of the Sacred Word, remained untouched for nearly half a century. In 1892 an attempt was made to open the *fasciculi*, consisting of solid masses of torn and wrinkled leaves, partly dissolved, partly glued together through damp; the result of which was that the agglutinated folios were successfully detached, and a considerable portion of the text could be deciphered[3]. The separated leaves are now bound up in a volume numbered 24. Q. 23., in the library of the Academy, while the beautiful metal casket that once served as their receptacle may be seen in the Academy's collection of antiquities in the National Museum of Ireland. On a closer inspection of the leaves there will be detected some faint traces, all

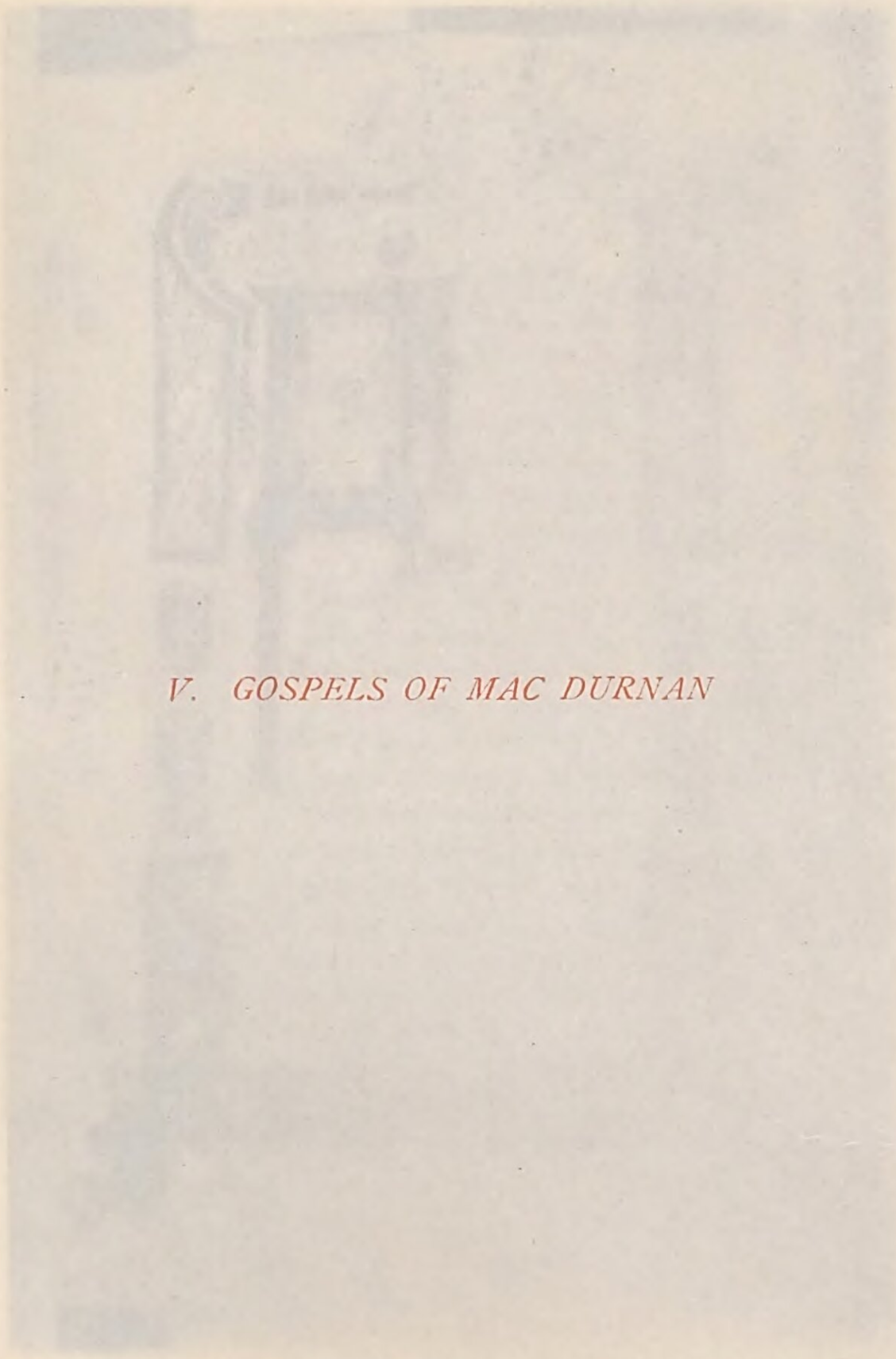
[1] *MS. 24. Q. 23.*, Libr. R. I. A., Dublin.
[2] *Transactions R. I. A.*, vol. XVIII, part 1, Antiquities, p. 18.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. XXX, parts VII and VIII, p. 308.

but obliterated, yet sufficient to show that the volume was originally enriched both with miniatures and ornamental initials. The strokes that are still traceable at the commencement of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John are the remains of initials extending over a considerable space of the page. The body of the letter is seen to be divided into compartments with some simpler interlaced patterns still visible. Plain spiral coils appear as terminations. The letters seem to have been executed in black ink only, and the workmanship is not of the highest standard. On the leaf prefixed to the Gospel of St. Mark is a figure of the Evangelist, drawn in outline. This is all that remains of decorative work. And yet these mutilated leaves, with their faint, faded tracings and almost obliterated text, would be a record of unique value for the history of Celtic script and book-ornamentation, in case an opinion which was first expressed by Dr Petrie and afterwards adopted by a long succession of writers could be accepted as settling the question of the origination of the manuscript. Dr Petrie assumed[1] that the casket[2] which is now in the possession of the Academy, and in the fourteenth century obviously belonged to the religious house of Clones, was originally intended to receive a book, reasonably that which was found in it. He identified[3], further, this casket with the Domnach Airgid, or silver Domnach, which, in an ancient Life of St. Patrick, the great founder of the Irish Church is said to have left with his disciple and companion St. Mac Caerthen, when he placed him over the see of Clogher. From this Dr Petrie concluded[4] that the manuscript remnants of which were found in the present shrine was originally associated with the silver Domnach said to have been given by the Apostle of Erin to the see of Clogher; and that these remnants may, as a consequence, have claim to the unique distinction of being dated as »*temp*.

[1] *Transactions R. I. A.*, vol. XVIII, part I, Antiq. pp. 15, 20.
[2] *i. e.*, the oldest part of it.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 19.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

Sci. Patricii». Against this theory, which was generally accepted for more than half a century, the Rev. Dr J. H. Bernard, after he had bestowed on the shrine, its contents, and its history a most careful examination, recently pointed out: — (1) as to the supposed identity of the present shrine with a genuine relic of the days of St. Patrick — that this is, at most, a possibility; (2) that »there is no evidence whatever, either documentary or traditional, to show that the manuscript itself», even if the shrine had to be dated from that early period, »was ever associated with St. Patrick or his gift of the Domnach Airgid to the see of Clogher»; and (3) that the shape of the casket, differing from that typical of the book-shrines in general, suggests the view, supported by tradition, that it was originally intended as a receptacle for relics — rather than for a book which, when perfect, could not have found room enough within it, as is demonstrable by measurements[1]. After the criticism to which the current theory as to the origin of the manuscript has been submitted by the learned Doctor, it would hardly be safe to uphold any longer its superiority in point of age on account of its connexion with the alleged Patrician silver shrine. On the other hand, the difficulty is experienced of pronouncing decisively on the age of the manuscript from the nature of its text and writing. The version of the Gospels, as far as that can be made out, is, like the text we usually meet with in the copies of the Holy Writ made by Irish scribes, traceable to the Vulgate, but with occasional readings from pre-Hieronymian versions[2]. The writing, in a regularly shaped semi-uncial of a distinctively Celtic type, does not afford any criteria by which we are enabled to assign the manuscript with confidence to any particular period previous to *circa* A. D. 800, for the simple reason that there does not exist sufficient material in general for the establishment of canons of criticism regarding the evolution of Irish script before that date. Until we possess

[1] *Transactions R. I. A.*, vol. XXX, parts VII and VIII, pp. 305, 306.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 310.



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a greater number of dated examples from the earlier centuries, it would be an idle task to try to determine the precise age of a manuscript, only on the evidence of its palæographic peculiarities. As to the specimen, then, which lies before us, when judging its age from the character of its writing, we are, in fact, entitled to say no more than that such work might have been done in the sixth century, with nearly the same probability as in the eighth.

§ XII

OR can the age be determined with assurance in the case of the other example to which we alluded above. Like that just described, this has also been credited with a high antiquity, and come down to our time connected with a fine metal casket; but, fortunately, in a far better state of preservation than the *Domnach Airgid* manuscript. It is a fragmentary copy of the Psalter, now deposited, together with its »cumdach» in which it is still enclosed, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, and known since a remote period by the Irish name of *Cathach,* »præliator»[1] (see *National MSS. Irel.,* vol. I, plates III, IV). The volume exhibits a series of ornamental capitals, drawn in a black or brownish ink, with the interior spaces partly laid with patches of red, and the outline emphasised with red dotting. The body of the letter terminates in plain spiral coils; in a single case the termination has taken the shape of a beast's head. Crosses of a type similar to that which occurs incised on the oldest Irish stone monuments of the Christian period, are seen inserted in, or appended to, the letter. Of interlaced, fret, or foliageous work there is no trace. As to the origin of the manuscript there is a current tradition assigning it to the time of St. Columba. In an ancient legend, quoted in a Life of this Saint, we are told of a certain Psalter the copying of which led to a fatal dispute, and, if the

[1] *Vita Sancti Columbæ:* auctore Adamnano monasterii Hiensis abbate; ed. William Reeves, Dublinii, MDCCCLVII; printed for the Bannatyne Club; p. 319.

tale is true, was one of the causes which induced the Saint to abandon his native isle and set out on his mission to Western Scotland[1]. The present volume, for many generations preserved in the custody of the family of the O'Donnels, and revered as an emblem of victory, when borne round their warriors before battle[2], is held to be identic with that recorded as the fatal »battle-brand» and ultimate cause of the pilgrimage of their illustrious clansman, in a long bygone age.

If statements made by mediæval biographers when referring to the condition of the early Celtic Church could be accepted as historical, there would be no lack of evidence to show that books were written by Celtic scribes very soon after the introduction and general spread of Christianity in Ireland. A copy of the Sacred Word was obviously the most valuable gift, a founder of the Church could bequeath to a beloved disciple or leave behind him at the foundation of a new religious establishment; and it is recorded of the very first of the fathers and founders of the Celtic Church, St. Patrick, that he used to leave »books of the Law and books of the Gospel in new places»[3]. The biographers of the celebrated Saint of Iona, with whom we are at present concerned, have not failed to remember his labours as a scribe. We often see him sitting in his lowly hut in the solitary islet off the coast of Scotland — the »Holy Island» of the Northern Sagas —

»*fluctivago suspensa salo cognominis Eo*»[4],

writing the »word of wisdom»: a Gospel-book, or a Psalter, or a Book of Hymns, or some other work to be used in the religious services, in the glory of God,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 247 *seqq.*
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 250.
[3] »Portauit Patricius per *Sininn* secum L. clocos, L. patinos, L. calices, altaria, libros legis, aeuanguelii libros, et reliquit eos in locis nouis», *Book of Armagh;* see *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, with other documents relating to that Saint; edited etc. by Whitley Stokes, D. C. L., LL. D., London, 1887, part II, p. 300; in *Rer. Brit. m. æ. script.*
[4] *Vita St. Blaithmaic martyris.*

for the instruction and eternal welfare of the brethren[1]. There are also those among his monks who are trained in the art of writing; and they assist each other in looking over and correcting what has been written[2]. On the last day of his life we still find him busy with his writing. After he had climbed the hill that overlooked his monastery in order to bid a final farewell and give his last blessing to the islet he loved so well, he returned to his hut, and sat down once more to his accustomed work, while abiding the arrival of death[3]. »*Nullum etiam unius horæ intervallum transire poterat, quo non aut orationi aut lectioni, vel scriptioni, vel etiam alicui operationi incumberet.*«[4] In these words Adamnan summarises the restless energy and multifarious accomplishments of his great predecessor; while the author of an ancient Irish *Life of St. Columba* also refers to his diligence as a scribe, in quoting from a versified account of his various works the following quatrain:

> »*Three hundred he measured, without fault,*
> *of churches fair, 'tis true;*
> *and three hundred splendid, lasting books,*
> *noble-bright he wrote.*«[5]

It would seem, then, that there is no lack of testimony as to the existence of books written by native scribes in the very earliest centuries of the Celtic Church. But when we go on to ask how far these and similar statements can be trusted, it must be admitted that we are well justified in not too readily accepting them as authenticated history. The general character of works like those composed by Adamnan, Ailred, or Jocelin, is somewhat different from that of a historical tract, in a modern

[1] *Life of Saint Columba*, founder of Hy; written by Adamnan; edited by William Reeves, Edinburgh, 1874 (in »*the Historians of Scotland*«, vol. VI); Lib. II, c. VIII; Lib. III, c. XVI, c. XXIV; *cfr. Old Irish Life of St. Columba;* printed as an appendix in Skene, *Celtic Scotland,* Edinb., 1876—80; vol. II, p. 488.
[2] *Op. cit.,* Lib. I, c. XVII.
[3] *Op. cit.,* Lib. III, c. XXIV.
[4] *Op. cit.,* Secunda Præfatio.
[5] *Old Irish Life of St. Columba,* p. 487.

sense; so much so, indeed, as to make biographical criticism well-nigh impossible. Most of what they tell us about the saint selected is such as only the imaginative power and pious credulity of the mediæval mind could ever have properly digested; and when, in the long succession of miracles, prophecies, and apparitions from on high, there happen to be inserted things that look like bare facts, which are by no means impossible, and which we could feel inclined to believe in, the difficulty will be experienced of deciding how far such passages, referring to habits and customs of a bygone age, were suggested by the mode of life of the time of the biographer — rather than of that of the saint whose life he professes to depict. It is true, the biographer will, not infrequently, assert that he has been gathering from earlier works as to facts; occasionally with the addition that his own work was undertaken with a view, not to add to the biographic material, but simply to put it into a literary shape suiting the taste of the day; or, as Jocelin puts it: »in order to season what had been composed in a barbarous way with Roman salt». »*Quo circa sedit animo ex utroque libello materiam collectam redintegrando scarcire; et juxta modulum meum, et præceptum vestrum, barbarice exarata Romano sale condire.*»[1] But from whatever sources he gathered his material, and whatever was the purpose for which his own work was composed, that work, as a whole, is found to be so hopelessly destitute of any attempt at critical treatment of its sources as hardly to admit of any conclusion being drawn with confidence even from its plainest and by no means unreasonable statements. For an answer to the question of how far the practice of writing and ornamenting religious service books was cultivated in the earlier centuries, we must turn, in the first place, to the manuscripts themselves and see what can be made out from their own pages.

[1] *Vita Kentegerni,* auctore Jocelino monacho Furnesensi, Prologus, (in *the Historians of Scotland,* vol. V).

§ XIII

BESIDE the ancient Psalter in the library of the Royal Irish Academy there is another volume of far greater significance which has also been ascribed to the Saint of Iona. It is a copy of the Gospels, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and known as the *Book of Durrow*[1] (see *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. I, plates V, VI; and Westwood, *Miniatures and Ornaments*, plates IV—VII). The text of the Four Gospels, mainly in accordance with the version of St. Jerome[2], is preceded by the Epistle to Damasus, Eusebian Canons, and Prefaces. The volume formerly belonged to the monastery of Durrow, founded by St. Columba between A. D. 553 and 563[3], and recorded as his chief institution in Ireland[4]. Unlike the specimens we have just been considering, in which no trace of a signature or entry has been left to tell us the name of the scribe, or give any clue as to the period and place of origin of the manuscript, the present book still retains a colophon in the hand of the original scribe, who, on completing a section of his work, has written down in a vacant space a humble request that whosoever shall take the book into his hands may remember its scribe in his prayers. The note occurs on fol. 12 verso (in the present binding), and runs as follows:

o Rogo beatitudinem
tuam scē praesbitere
Patrici ut quicumque
hunc libellū in manu te
nuerit meminerit colum
bae scriptoris qui hoc scripsi
[—][5] *et euangelium per XII.*
dierum spatium ḡtia dn̄i nr̄i.

[1] *MS. A. 4. 5.*, Trinity Coll., Dublin.
[2] Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 41.
[3] *Vita Sancti Columbæ*, Bannatyne ed., p. 23.
[4] *Cfr.* Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Lib. III, c. IV.
[5] In line 7 there is a fold or crease in the parchment, which makes some strokes before *et* difficult to make out with certainty.

It seems to have been partly erased and re-written in later years. A little lower in the same page is written in another hand:

Ora pro me frater mi
dn̄s tecum sit.

Tradition has not failed to identify the writer of the manuscript with his famous namesake, the Scotic Saint[1]; and, again, a silver shrine has been introduced to testify to the alleged antiquity. The shrine in which the book is said to have been once enclosed is now lost; but a record of an inscription telling us the name of its maker is entered on a fly-leaf of our manuscript. And this inscription, written in Irish, refers to the Saint of Iona in the following way:

+ *Oroit acus bendacht cho-*
luimb chille do fland macc
mailsechnaill do righ
erenn las andernad
a cumdach so.[2]

Accordingly annalists and authors of later periods mention the manuscript as a book of Colum Cille; and in our own century such an authority as Dr Reeves, the accomplished editor of the *Life of St. Columba,* seems inclined to assign it to the Columban age[3]; and Dr Joseph Anderson, in his masterly series of lectures on Scottish antiquities, says, with reference to the manuscript in question, that »we cannot lightly reject its claims to be considered an actual relic of the great founder of the Church in Scotland.»[4]

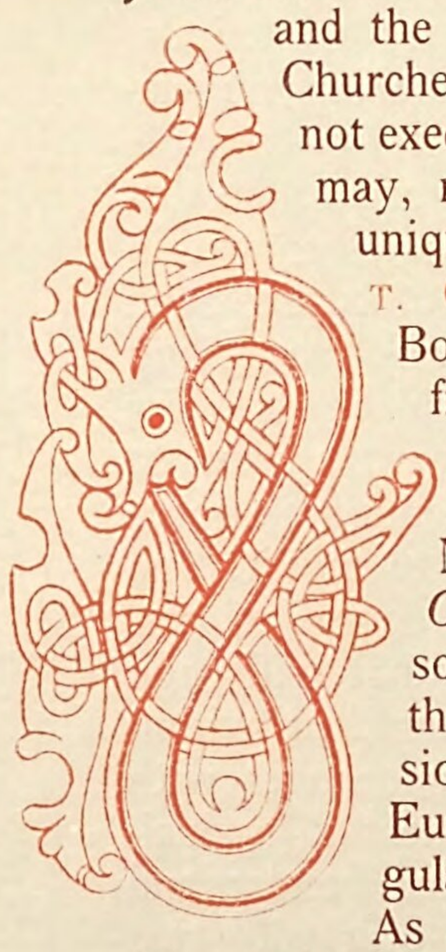
At the time when this manuscript was produced Celtic illumination had reached, if not its highest standard of

[1] *Vita Sancti Columbæ,* Bannatyne ed., p. 327.
[2] »*Oratio et benedictio S. Columbæ cille sit Flannio filio Malachiæ regi Hiberniæ qui hanc structuram fieri fecit.*» *Op. cit.,* p. 327.
[3] *Op. cit.,* p. 276.
[4] *Scotland in Early Christian times;* the Rhind lectures in Archæology — 1879; Edinb., 1881, vol. I, p. 147.

excellence, at least a point not far from it. Most of its designs appear in these pages fully developed and combined in composite schemes of a most pronounced Celtic character. Geometrical interlacings, fret patterns, and spirals, are shown in a variety of forms. The zoomorphic element figures in interlacements composed of nondescripts of a peculiar type; whereas there is no trace to be discovered of any floral or foliageous design, either within the frame of the panel or as terminations of borders and initials. The typical termination is the spiral. The leading colours are red, green, and yellow, with black used for the backgrounds, selected and distributed with a view to produce strong contrasts. The general execution is good, although not reaching, either with regard to minute and delicate drawing or refined colouring, the degree of perfection shown in the decoration of works that will soon engage our attention. The Canons are enclosed within all-round borders. Each of the Gospels commences with an elaborate initial, followed by rows of letters of gradually decreasing dimensions, laid on red-dotted bands; and prefixed to each of the initial pages were originally two full-page decorations, the one containing the symbol of the Evangelist, within border work, the other a large, richly-worked panel; and, in addition to these, full-page decorations of a like nature are seen at the commencement of the volume.

Laying aside now the little collection of decorated manuscripts which are ascribed, with some show of reason, to the pre-Augustinian period of the Church in Britain, we proceed to examine the works of the Celtic school of illumination subsequent to *circa* A. D. 600, or the date when the barrier which had previously kept the Christian community in Ireland in almost complete isolation began to be removed by the conversion of the Saxons and the emigrations of the Irish missionaries. Though there may be, perhaps, a work or two still preserved of those produced in the course of the first century of this period, we do not find any valuable material for determining the

growth and chronology of Celtic ornament, until we reach the end of the century. But at that time — some hundred years after the landing of St. Augustine in the Isle of Thanet, and the first contact between the Celtic and Roman Churches — we meet with a work which, although not executed in Ireland, not even by an Irish artist, may, nevertheless, be regarded as a document of unique value for the history of Celtic art.



§ XIV

T. CUTHBERT'S Gospels, also known as the Book of Durham, and in the previous pages frequently referred to as the *Gospels of Lindisfarne*[1], is a large quarto volume, preserved in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum (see Westwood, *Miniatures and Ornaments,* plates XII, XIII; Bond and Thompson, *Facsimiles,* plates III—VI, XXII). It contains the Four Gospels of St. Jerome's Latin version[2], with the usual appendices of Prefaces, Eusebian Canons, etc., written in a clear, regular hand of a pronounced Celtic character. As a monument of mediæval art, it commands the admiration of anyone who has the good fortune to turn over its brilliantly ornamented folios; and of examples of this class of work now in existence there is only one that can rival it in artistic merit — the *Book of Kells.* But apart from the surpassing excellence of its artistic work, the Lindisfarne manuscript receives a particular interest from the circumstance that it contains in its pages an evidence of its date and origin, written down, it is true, some time after the completion of the volume, but, nevertheless, affording sufficient criteria to allow us to accept its statements with confidence. Before we go on to inspect the decoration of the manuscript, we must pay some attention to this remarkable record. It is entered at the end of the Gospel of St. John, in an English hand of the tenth century, and reads as follows:

[1] *Cotton. MS. Nero D. 4.*, Brit. Mus.
[2] Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate,* p. 39 *seqq.*

VI. GOSPELS OF MAC DURNAN



+ *Eadfriđ biscop*[b] *lindisfearnensis æcclesiæ he đis boc avrát æt fruma gode ⁊ sc̄e cuđberhte ⁊ allum đæm halgum gimænelice đa đe in eolonde sint. ⁊ Eđilvald lindisfearneolondinga bisc̄ hit uta giđryde ⁊ gibélde sua he vel cuđe. ⁊ billfriđ se oncre he gismiođade đa gihríno đađe útan ón sint ⁊ hit gihrínađe mið golde ⁊ mið gimmum ęc mið sulfre of̄ gylded faconleas feh:, ⁊ ic*[1] *Aldred p̄b̄r̄ indignus ⁊ misserrim' mið godes fultum̄e ⁊ sc̄i cuđberhtes hit of̄ glóesade ón englisc. ⁊ hine gihamadi mið đæm đrím dælū. Matheus đál gođe ⁊ sc̄e cuđberhti. Marc̄ dál đæm bisc̄. ⁊ lucas dál đæm hiorode ⁊ æht ora seolfres mið*

·/· fē his savle

tó inláde: — ⁊ sci ioh dæl f̄ hine seolfne ⁊ feover óra seolfres mið gode ⁊ sc̄i cuđberti. Þte he hæbbe ondfong đerh godes milsæ on heofnū. sél ⁊ sibb on eorđo forđgeong ⁊ giđyngo visdóm ⁊ snyttro đerh sc̄i cuđ berhtes earnunga: ⁊

+ Eadfriđ. oeđilvald. billfriđ. aldred. hoc evange dō ⁊ cuđ berhto construxer̄t: ⁊

l ornaverunt

An invocation in favour of the four ecclesiastics engaged on the volume is entered in the same hand on fol. 88 verso:

đe[ll] *lifigiende god gemyne đu eadfriđ ⁊ æđilvald ⁊ billfriđ ⁊ aldred peccāt đas feowero mið gode ymbwęson đas bóc.*

That statements of this nature, though written down in their present form a couple of centuries after the occurrence of the events which they record, were gathered from reliable sources may be inferred from the detailed description and matter-of-fact tone of the memorandum. A loose tradition without real foundation would neither have entered into this series of apparently insignificant details, nor have contented itself with the comparatively obscure names of the bishops Eadfrith and Ethilwold and the anchorite Billfrith. If, at the time when the Northumbrian monk inserted his inter-linear version and his note on the

[1] erased; in the margin is added: *·· ælfredi natus aldredus ·· vocor bonæ ·/· tilw̄ mulieris filius eximius loquor: ⁊*

origin of the manuscript, the names of the makers had not been known for certain, we may be pretty sure that tradition or legend, less unpretending than reality, would not have failed to associate the costly relic with a more illustrious name, say that of St. Aidan, the founder and patron saint of the house of Lindisfarne. We know that Eadfrith, to whom the entry refers as the scribe, was bishop of Lindisfarne between A. D. 698 and 721; and also that Ethilwold, who, we are told, bound the book, succeeded to the bishopric in 724, and held it till 740. Although the note does not say expressly who was the decorator of the manuscript, there is reason to believe that he should be identified with the scribe; or his name would, no doubt, have been left on record, the more so, because the names of the other makers were so carefully remembered. Be that as it may, the ornamentation was of course contemporary with the writing, *i. e.*, executed towards the close of the seventh century or at the beginning of the eighth.

Turning now from the tenth century insertions to the main text with its artistic enrichment, that is, the volume in its original aspect, we are a little surprised to find that we have, at the same time, taken leave of the English element in this manuscript. Its ornament, in detail and composition, is worked on the well-known Celtic lines; and some most distinctive features of Irish script reappear in its caligraphy. Here, it must be stated at the outset, is nothing Saxon or Anglic; nothing even that betrays any immediate influence tending to modify the purely Celtic traditions. Although executed under the Anglo-Saxon rule, it is in its artistic aspect an emphatically Celtic monument, an *opus Scoticum,* a book written *after the fashion of the Scots.* What this implies will be better understood when, in a following article, we shall have an opportunity of comparing the nature of its ornament with the admixture of Celtic and Roman elements typical of the early specimens of Anglo-Saxon art of illumination.

§ XV

ET at the time when this manuscript was produced, at least some thirty years had elapsed since the withdrawal of the Columban monks from Lindisfarne; and the entire absence of non-Celtic elements in its artistic work becomes all the more significant when we consider the influx and diffusion of non-Celtic art and culture which, in even that interval of time, resulted from frequent contact between the Northumbrian monastic establishments and the Church of Rome. This was the period when men like the far-travelled Wilfrid and his friend and companion Benedict Biscop or the foreigners Theodore and Adrian, were busy introducing new rites and fashions, and establishing in the religious houses of the Anglo-Saxon Church a taste for art and literature, in conformity with the more refined culture that spread from the metropolis of the Christian world.[1] More particularly was Northumbria favoured with the innovations of these ardent improvers. Here, owing to the influence of men who, like Wilfrid, had been trained abroad, in France or Italy[2], the infant Church, founded and organised by Celtic missionaries on the model of that of Iona, was brought to give up the long-established traditions of the Celtic Church with regard to the celebration of Easter, tonsure, etc., and conform to Roman usage (in A. D. 664)[2]; the result of which was that the last Scots bishop of Lindisfarne together with his monks left the kingdom and returned to Iona[3], in preference to abandoning the rites and fashions which they had received from their fathers, and accepting what the Celtic clergy denounced as rules inconsistent with the Church of the Apostles and as mere innovations of the Bishops of Rome.[4] Here, again, through the assistance of master-builders and workmen whom they brought with them from

[1] Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi *de gestis pontificum Anglorum libri quinque*, Lib. IV, § 186, in *Rer. Brit. m. æ. script.*; Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. XIV, c. XVII; Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. IV, c. II.

[2] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. III, c. XXV.

[3] *Op. cit.*, Lib. III, c. XXVI, Lib. IV, c. IV.

[4] *Cfr.* St. Columbanus' famous appeal to Pope Boniface IV; Migne, *Patrologiæ* cursus completus, VII sæc., prima pars, Paris, 1863, coll. 269.

the Continent (France or Italy), Wilfrid and Benedict were enabled to erect their new, magnificent churches of stone, *in the Roman style*[1], mentioned by early writers in contrast to the plain timber fabrics which were previously reared on Scotic models, and, we have reason to believe, afterwards continued in use, for a length of time coexisting with the Roman fashion of building with dressed stones.[2] And through the assistance of these foreign artificers they were enabled, not only to construct, but also to adorn their buildings with sculptures and paintings in a new style, imported, we are told, in some cases directly from Rome.[3] And nowhere, inside the limits of the area occupied by Teutonic invaders, were the beauties of the language of Rome more ardently or more successfully cultivated than within the precincts of the Northumbrian monasteries, where art and learning flourished under the direction of these men and their disciples. Among the imported goods an item of no mean consequence was manuscripts. Benedict, we learn[4], brought with him from his travels quite a number of books; and Acca, who had gone with Wilfrid to Rome and — to quote the passage in Bede — »learnt there many profitable things concerning the government of the holy Church, which he could not have learnt in his own country«,[5] and who afterwards succeeded him in the episcopate of the church of Hagustald, erected there, according to the same author, a »most numerous and noble library«[6]. No wonder, then, if we should find at such a place as Lindisfarne, once the centre and chief foundation of the Northumbrian Church, traces of the literary and artistic aspirations of men like Benedict, Wilfrid, and Acca, all of whom were contemporary with,

[1] Bede, *Vitæ Abbatum*, § V; Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. XXII; *Hist.* Ricardi Prioris Eccles. Haugustald., London, 1886, pp. 153, 154; in *Rer. Brit. m. æ. script.; Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. I, p. 501 *seqq.*, vol. II, p. 131 *seqq.*, vol. VI, p. 179 *seqq.*

[2] *Cfr.* Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. III, c. XXV, Lib. V, c. XXI; and *Vitæ Abbatum*, § V *seqq.*

[3] Bede, *Vitæ Abbatum*, § VI; *cfr.* Eddius and Richard of Hexham.

[4] William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, Lib. IV, § 186.

[5] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. V, c. XX.

[6] *Ibid.*

and whose labours were, no doubt, well-known to, that bishop of Lindisfarne who wrote the famous Gospels.

An author who has published in the *Revue Bénédictine*[1] an interesting study on the Lindisfarne Book in its liturgical aspect has pointed out that the very manuscript with which we are at present concerned contains an evidence of the existence of Italian books in the scriptorium in which it was executed; and has, moreover, tried to show that its own text was, in all probability, copied from an Evangeliarium originating from the south of Italy. Prefixed to each of the Gospels in our manuscript is a list enumerating the days or occasions when some special passage of the accompanying text should be read; and the liturgical indications contained in these quasi-»capitula» are shown to represent the liturgy of the Church of Naples, as that appears at the beginning of the seventh century. Particulars in these »capitula», like those referring to the dedication of the Neapolitan cathedral, the »*Basilica Stephani*», and to the festival of the chief patron saint of Naples: »*in natale sc̄i ianuari*», are, it appears, such as could have been derived from no other source than from the liturgy of the South-Italian city. Accordingly, at the time when our manuscript was written, there must have existed in the scriptorium of the monastery of Lindisfarne a book — presumably a South-Italian copy of the Gospels — which contained the liturgical cycle characteristic of the Church of Naples. How and whence such a book might come into the possession of the North-English monastery is successfully explained by the same author, who, from a passage in Bede, is able to trace a very direct historical line of intercourse between the sunny gulfs of Southern Italy and the wave-beaten islet off the coast of Northumberland. Adrian who accompanied the Greek Theodore in his mission to Britain in A. D. 668 was abbat of a house termed by Bede »monasterium Nisidanum».[2] This place Italian writers have identified with

[1] Abbaye de Maredsous, Belgique, Nov.—Dec. 1891, p. 481 *seqq.*, 529 *seqq.*
[2] *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. IV, c. I.

the little island of Nisita, situated between Naples and Pouzzoles, and mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* among the donations which the Emperor Constantine bestowed on the Church of Naples. We know, further, from Bede that the Archbishop, accompanied and assisted by his friend Adrian, in the course of his travels in Britain, also paid a visit to Lindisfarne. By connecting these facts with the somewhat unexpected appearance of the Neapolitan liturgy in a Northumbrian manuscript, the author in the *Revue Bénédictine* arrives at the conclusion that the text of the Gospels of Lindisfarne was actually copied from one of the books forming the *bagage littéraire* which the abbat Adrian brought with him into the country from his monastery in the south of Italy.

§ XVI

CONCERNING the original manuscript supposed to have contained the Neapolitan liturgy and served as a model at the transcription of the Lindisfarne Book, there is reason to believe that that, too, was illuminated, although we have at present no means of determining the precise nature of its ornamentation. Judging, however, from still extant specimens of Italian book-decoration of contemporary or earlier date, it is apparent that the Northumbrian manuscript, so far as its writing and ornamentation are concerned, owes little or nothing to any models found in Italian illuminated manuscripts of the seventh or earlier centuries. Its ornamental compositions are, as stated above, marked by pure and unmixed Celticism. The Saxons who occupied the monastery of Lindisfarne after the Columban monks had withdrawn retained the art traditions of their predecessors, at least in this case, with a fidelity which forbade them to add anything whatever of their own invention; or to introduce the admixture of Celtic and classical elements so common in English illuminated manuscripts subsequent to *circa* A. D. 700. The interlaced, fret, and spiral decoration of the Celtic school will be seen applied

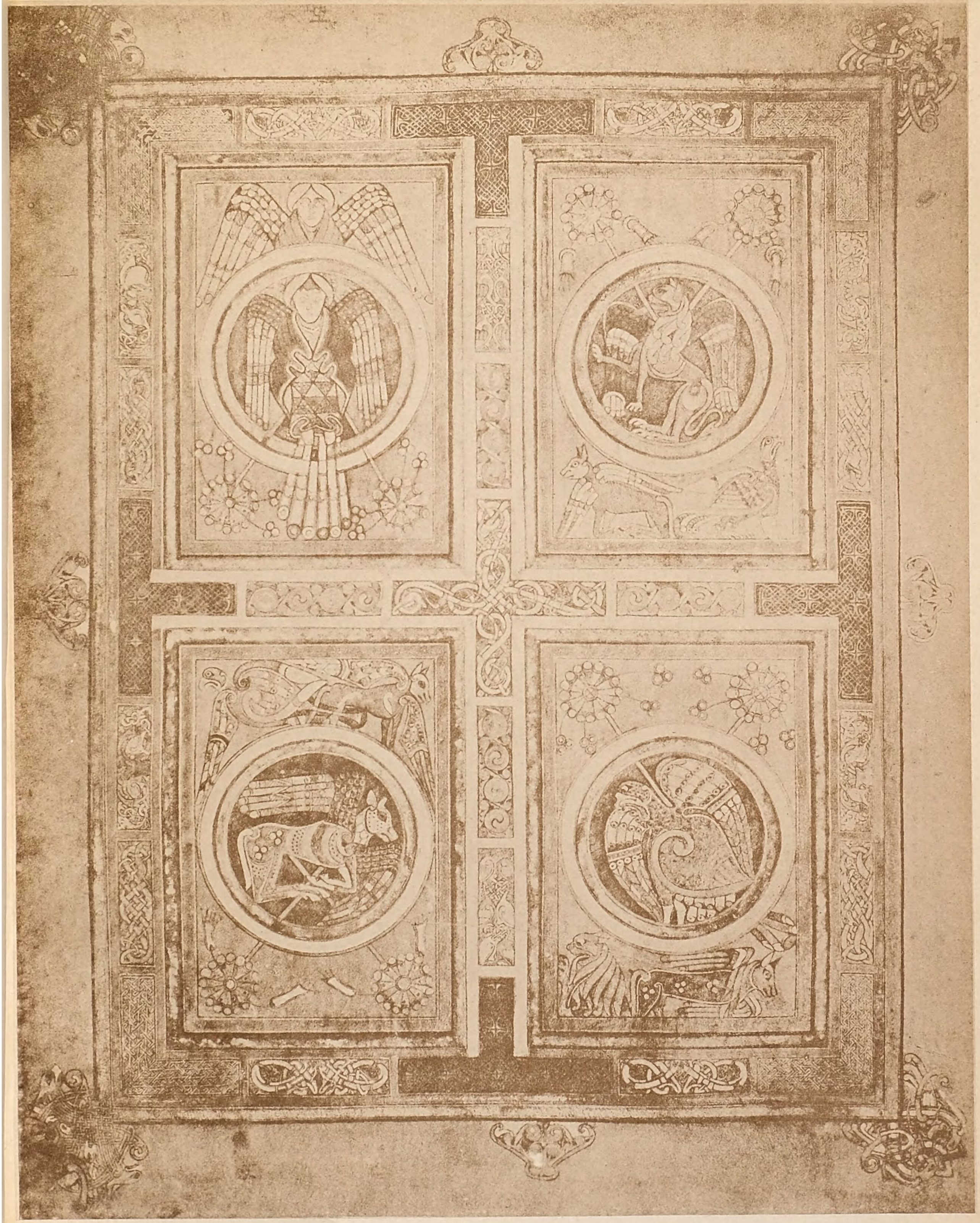
to the initials, borders, and full-page designs of the Lindisfarne manuscript in a lavish abundance equalled only in the pages of the *Book of Kells*. And in one point the former is, if possible, even more Celtic than its Irish rival. Not a single trace of any floral or foliated pattern can be detected in the variety of motives employed. This is a point which deserves special attention. Foliageous ornament is entirely unknown in the Celtic illuminated manuscripts of the earlier period; and the absence of this element in the decoration of the present volume is notable as an additional proof of its independence of late classical or semi-classical models. Concerning the pictures of the Evangelists, which, it is true, do not look quite so barbarous as those we are accustomed to meet with in Celtic manuscripts, it has been shown in the previous pages that representations of this kind were, no doubt, originally suggested by Byzantine miniatures; but there is nothing in those which lie before us to indicate that they were drawn directly from any more refined model than a tolerably good work of the Celtic school of miniature-painting. Although comparatively well executed, the miniatures exhibit some distinguishing marks of Celtic figure-drawing, as will be seen in the treatment of the folds of the drapery and in the peculiar manner of rendering the features of the human head.

If, then, we are right in our opinion that the style of art shown in the pages of the Lindisfarne manuscript may be regarded, in spite of the close proximity of late classical models, as untouched by any immediate influences from that part; and if we are, further, justified in accepting with confidence the information regarding the origin of the manuscript, which is contained in the above quoted memorandum, entered by an inmate of the house of Lindisfarne in the tenth century — the value of the present volume as a record for the history of Celtic art can hardly be over-rated. In its illuminated pages the genius of the Celt has signalised its tastes and talents with quite exceptional brilliancy; and though very unlike our modern

notions, and strangely contrasting with any notions based on classical canons, yet the peculiar sense of the meaning and purpose of ornament which underlies the beautiful compositions in even these pages is well worthy of the notice, not only of the art student in general, but also of the practical artist. The manuscript, as a whole, may serve as an illustration in colours to those passages in mediæval writers which, in referring to the various accomplishments of the pilgrim Scots, dwell more particularly upon their unrivalled skill and diligence in writing and adorning their sacred books. It assists in a very effective manner the understanding of how it came that those men, when wandering about, or settling down among foreign tribes, far away from their island home, were able, not only to assert their national individuality, but also, in many respects, to exercise a far-reaching influence on the natives and leave vestiges of their peculiar culture throughout a vast space of Europe, extending from the Arctic to the Mediterranean, from the solitary rocks in the farthest west to the boundaries of the Sclavonic tribes in the east. With such a testimony of literary and artistic culture before our eyes as the document we are just considering, it is not to be wondered at that the »*libri scottice scripti*« continued, long after the Scotic rule was at an end, to hold a place of their own in the monastic libraries founded by the pilgrim Scots, in the British Islands as well as in many countries on the Continent. And we can also well understand how it happened, when such an establishment was re-organised on the principles of the Church of Rome, and abandoned by its Scotic leaders, as was the case with the house of Lindisfarne, that the new occupiers, if not entirely destitute of artistic aspirations, would cultivate the art traditions of their predecessors, in preference to copying the inferior imported productions of foreign make.

Although testifying, in the first place, to the artistic capacities of an offshoot of the Celtic school, the Lindisfarne document will also allow of some inference being drawn regarding the growth and chronology of the main

VII. BOOK OF KELLS



branch. The appearance of so rich and highly-finished a work at a colony of comparatively recent date pre-supposes the existence of a fairly well developed style at the time when the branch was sent out; the more so, because all its essential characteristics may be paralleled in works of native origin, and it is hardly credible that the art of the mother country and that of the colony should have evolved on so perfectly analogous lines quite independently. Of the extension of the Columban Church into Northumbria, in A. D. 635, we are well informed by Bede. We know from him that King Oswald, who, like so many other princes and nobles, had »sought wisdom» in the lowly huts of the monks of Iona, and »received the sacrament of baptism among the seniors of the Scots» *(i. e.*, at Iona), sent to the Columban monastery for missionaries to convert his people[1], after he had won his kingdom by the battle of Hefenfelth (»Cœlestis Campus»); the result of which was that St. Aidan, who was the founder and first bishop of the Church of Lindisfarne, came to preach the Gospel to the Anglic tribes in Northumbria.[2] He was succeeded by bands of Celtic evangelists, who carried on his missionary work with a noble ardour and in the true apostolic spirit, teaching, as Bede testifies, the faith of Christ chiefly by their example; with the effect — to quote again from Bede — that »churches were built in several places; the people joyfully flocked together to hear the Word; money and lands were given of the King's bounty to build monasteries; the Angles, great and small, were instructed by their Scotic masters in the rules and observance of regular discipline; for most of those who came to preach were monks»[3]. Not long afterwards, however, thirty years having elapsed since the arrival of St. Aidan

[1] *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. III, c. III.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] »*Construebantur ergo ecclesiæ per loca, confluebant ad audiendum Verbum populi gaudentes, donabantur munere regio possessiones et territoria ad instituenda monasteria, imbuebantur præceptoribus Scottis parvuli Anglorum, una cum majoribus, studiis et observatione disciplinæ regularis.*
Nam monachi erant maxime, qui ad prædicandum venerant.» *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. III, c. III; *cfr.* Lib. III, c. XXVI.

in the isle of Lindisfarne, the influence of the Roman Church was strong enough to induce Colman, the last Scots bishop of Lindisfarne, to leave his see and return to Iona (in A. D. 664).[1] Accordingly, if the Scotic settlement at Lindisfarne had any share in the elaboration of the Celtic designs or perfection of the style of art in general, this should reasonably have taken place within the limits of the above period. Hence we arrive at the conclusion that the Celtic style of illumination, which appears fully developed and brought to its highest perfection in a work written about A. D. 700, had, in all probability, reached that standard at least as early as the middle decades of the seventh century.

Some further facts might be adduced, if needful, to support this view. At the period which we have found signalised by the full development of the style the peculiar monastic system which is the chief feature of the ancient Celtic Church was in its most vigorous growth; and the religious foundations of this Church, equally famous as schools of learning and as retreats in which to perfect a life in restless labour, privation, and self-denial, attracted from all quarters students, who went there either for the sake of divine studies or for the purpose of leading a life of stricter discipline. In the ancient *Lives* and *Passions of Saints* the testimonies of this are too full and oft-repeated to be regarded as mere baseless fancies; and, besides, we have from such an authority as Venerable Bede, the most candid of historians, an evidence which places the fact beyond doubt. In the days of the great pestilence in Ireland (A. D. 664), he tells us, »many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nation were there — who, in the days of the Bishops Finan and Colman, forsaking their native island, retired thither either for the sake of Divine studies or of a more continent life; and some of them presently devoted themselves to a monastic life, others chose rather to apply themselves to study, going about from one master's cell to another. The Scots

[1] *Op. cit.*, Lib. III, c. XXVI.

willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching, gratis.»[1] And in the *Life of St. Senan* there is a passage which, after reading the testimony of Bede, we may approach with less suspicion, telling us of fifty Roman monks who went on pilgrimage to the »Isle of Saints», in search of wisdom and holy living.[2]

But it would lead us too far to pursue this line any further, although the prospect is tempting, owing to abundance of material. The general outcome of a study of these and similar statements, which enable us to form an opinion of the state of learning and culture in ancient Ireland, tends to show that the Celtic Church occupied a leading position almost from the time when it was first brought into contact with the outsiders, and held it for at least a couple of centuries. And when we consider in what close connexion art and learning appear throughout the whole course of development of the early Christian Celtic civilization; how that very important[3] member of a monastic community, termed in Irish Scribhnidh, the scribe and illustrator of the manuscripts, whose function was to preserve and multiply the documentary treasures of the house, was at the same time selected for the purpose of acting as its teacher and lecturer — when we consider this connexion, we may refer with some confidence to the scattered material illustrative of the state of learning and

[1] »*Erant ibidem eo tempore multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum, relicta insula patria, vel divinæ lectionis, vel continentioris vitæ, gratia, illo secesserant. Et quidam quidem mox se monasticæ conversationi fideliter mancipaverunt, alii magis circumeundo per cellas magistrorum lectioni operam dare gaudebant: quos omnes Scotti libentissime suscipientes victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum et magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant.*» *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. III, c. XXVII.

[2] — »*appellit ibi navis monachos advehens peregrinos. In ea namque navi deferebantur quinquaginta monachi patria Romani quos vel arctioris vitæ vel scripturarum peritiæ, tunc in ea multum florentis, desiderium in Hiberniam traxerat, ut ibi vivant sub magisterio quorundam sanctorum patrum, quos vitæ sanctitate et monasticæ disciplinæ rigore intellexerant esse conspicuos.*» *Vita S. Senani;* in Colgan-*Acta SS. Hiberniæ,* p 533.

[3] »So honourable was the employment, that the title is frequently added to enhance the celebrity of an abbot or bishop.» *Vita S. Columbæ,* Bannatyne ed., additional notes, p. 365.

culture in general as an additional confirmation of the results we have arrived at, regarding the advance and chronology of a most intimately connected branch of Celtic art.

§ XVII

DECORATIONS of the exquisite finish and perfection shown in the Lindisfarne work were, in the nature of things, at no period very numerous. It is obvious that such a production could only have arisen under the hands of an exceptionally well trained and gifted scribe, and must have appeared even to its contemporaries as something far above the ordinary level. The works produced by the minor artists, who, no doubt, were in the majority, were necessarily of a plainer character. Several examples of this class of works have descended to us. But they contain very little to add to our knowledge of Celtic art of illumination. The elements employed in their decoration present, as a rule, no novel features. Foliageous ornament is still absent. The general execution is of varying quality, sometimes rather feeble. In several cases the scribe has entered his name; and attempts have been made by modern writers to fix the date and origin of the volume by identifying its maker with some more or less renowned namesake whose lifetime is known from early Irish annals and records. Very little can, however, be made out in this way with certainty.

First in the series of minor books we note a volume of small quarto size known as the *Book of Dimma*[1], and preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (see *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. I, plates XVIII, XIX). It is a copy of the Gospels, based on the Vulgate version, and presenting the usual *texte mêlé* (Berger) of the ancient Irish Evangeliaria.[2] Its ornament consists of (1) full-page miniatures representing the Evangelist or — in the case of St. John — his symbol, enclosed within border; and (2), facing the miniatures, the initial pages of the Gospels, enriched

[1] *MS. A. 4. 23*, Trinity Coll., Dublin.
[2] *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 43.

with ornamental capitals and, in three cases, all-round borders. The name of the scribe is inserted at the conclusion of each of the Gospels; on the final folio verso it appears thus:

Finit amen Dimma macc nathi +

and accompanied by a couple of lines in ancient Irish, containing, in a somewhat unusual form, the usual pious request of the maker. The manuscript is stated to have formerly belonged to the monastery of Roscrea, where it was kept enclosed in a silver case, fragments of which still remain.[1] And it is a curious coincidence that there occurs, among the several ecclesiastics named Dimma who figure in the early Irish annals and records, one who is specially remembered as a skilled scribe, in connexion with an Evangeliarium executed in the seventh century for St. Cronan of Roscrea.[2]

Another small quarto volume traditionally assigned to the seventh century may be seen in the same collection[3] (see *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. I, plates XX, XXI). This, too, is an Evangeliarium, with a text of more than ordinary interest, owing to the mixture of the Vulgate element with peculiar Old Latin readings.[4] It is adorned with illuminated capitals and full-page pictures of (three of) the Evangelists, framed by borders.[5] Like the preceding example and so many other ancient Irish books, the volume was until lately, together with some fragments of another ancient Gospel-book, enshrined in a metal casket. At the conclusion of St. John's Gospel is an entry recording the name of the scribe and obviously written in

[1] *Christian Inscriptions,* vol. II, pp. 100, 101.
[2] *Op. cit., ibid.*
[3] *MS. A.* (not yet finally press-marked), Trinity Coll., Dublin.
[4] *Histoire de la Vulgate,* pp. 33, 34.
[5] If an opinion expressed by Dr H. J. Lawlor, in his *Chapters on the Book of Mulling,* Edinburgh, 1897, pp. 12, 13, be correct, the miniatures in question did not originally belong to the Book of Moling, but to some other MS., and were quite accidentally connected with our Gospels. For reasons which it would lead us too far here to explain, we are, however, not quite persuaded that such was the case.

the same hand as the preceding Gospel. Part of the entry is now illegible, and most of its letters are much faded; but the following lines can be deciphered with tolerable certainty:

FINIT amen FINIT
ó tv quicūq: Scripseris
l̄ scrutatus fueris l̄ etiā
uideris h̄ uolumin dm̄ orá
[?]

— — — — — —
— — — — — —
— — — — — —
— — — — — —.[1]

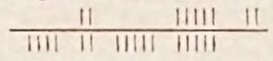
Nomen h' scriptoris mulling
dicitur Finiunt quatuor euan
gelia

The scribe is identified, with some show of reason, with one Moling who was bishop of Ferns, in Leinster, and died about A. D. 696.

Then we have two manuscripts both of which are in a very defective condition, but nearly corresponding with those above quoted in the character of their ornamentation, as far as that can be made out from traces left. The one is a volume in quarto, in the collection of Trinity College, containing fragments of the Gospels of the Irish »mixed« text[2], and generally known as the *Garland of Howth*[3] (see *Vetusta Monumenta,* vol. VI, plates II, III). There are only two ornamental pages left, marking St. Matthew I, 18 and St. Mark I, 1. Figure representations are seen inserted among the purely ornamental work in both pages; and the draughtsmanship is not of the highest order. The other example, bound up with a liturgical document known as the *Stowe Missal*[4],

[1] In these lines a few letters are visible, but not sufficient to indicate the meaning of the sentence; at the[?], trace of letter.
[2] *Histoire de la Vulgate,* p. 42.
[3] *MS. A. 4. 6.,* Trinity Coll., Dublin.
[4] *MS. D. 11. 3.* Ashburnham collect., Libr. R. I. A.

and preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, is still more incomplete, only retaining portions of the Gospel of St. John. The text of the existing fragments is of the Vulgate version, with traces of pre-Hieronymian readings.[1] At the commencement of the volume, fol. 2 recto, is a decorated page with initial and border; and accompanying the Biblical extracts, a full-page miniature representing the Evangelist, with his symbol placed with expanded wings over his head; the whole framed by border work. The first folio of the volume is cut away, but there are fragments left sufficient to show that that, too, was illuminated, at least on one side. At the end is an entry in the hand of the original scribe, who asks that the reader may remember him in his prayers:

Deo gratias ago. Amen. Finit. Amen.
Rogo qui cumque hunc librum legeris ut memine
ris mei peccatoris scriptoris .i.  *pere*
grinus. Amen. Sanus sit qui scripsit et cui scriptum est.
Amen.[2]

Several attempts have been made to read the Ogham characters, supposed to contain the name of the scribe[3]; but with no satisfactory result.

§ XVIII

SOMETIMES it happened that the ornamentation of an illuminated book was, for some reason or other, left unfinished. This is apparently the case with a Biblical manuscript[4] formerly in the possession of the monastery of Armagh, the famous seat of ancient Irish art and learning, and now preserved as the *Book of Armagh* among the manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Dublin[5] (see *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. I, plates XXV—XXIX). As a literary document, this manuscript is of

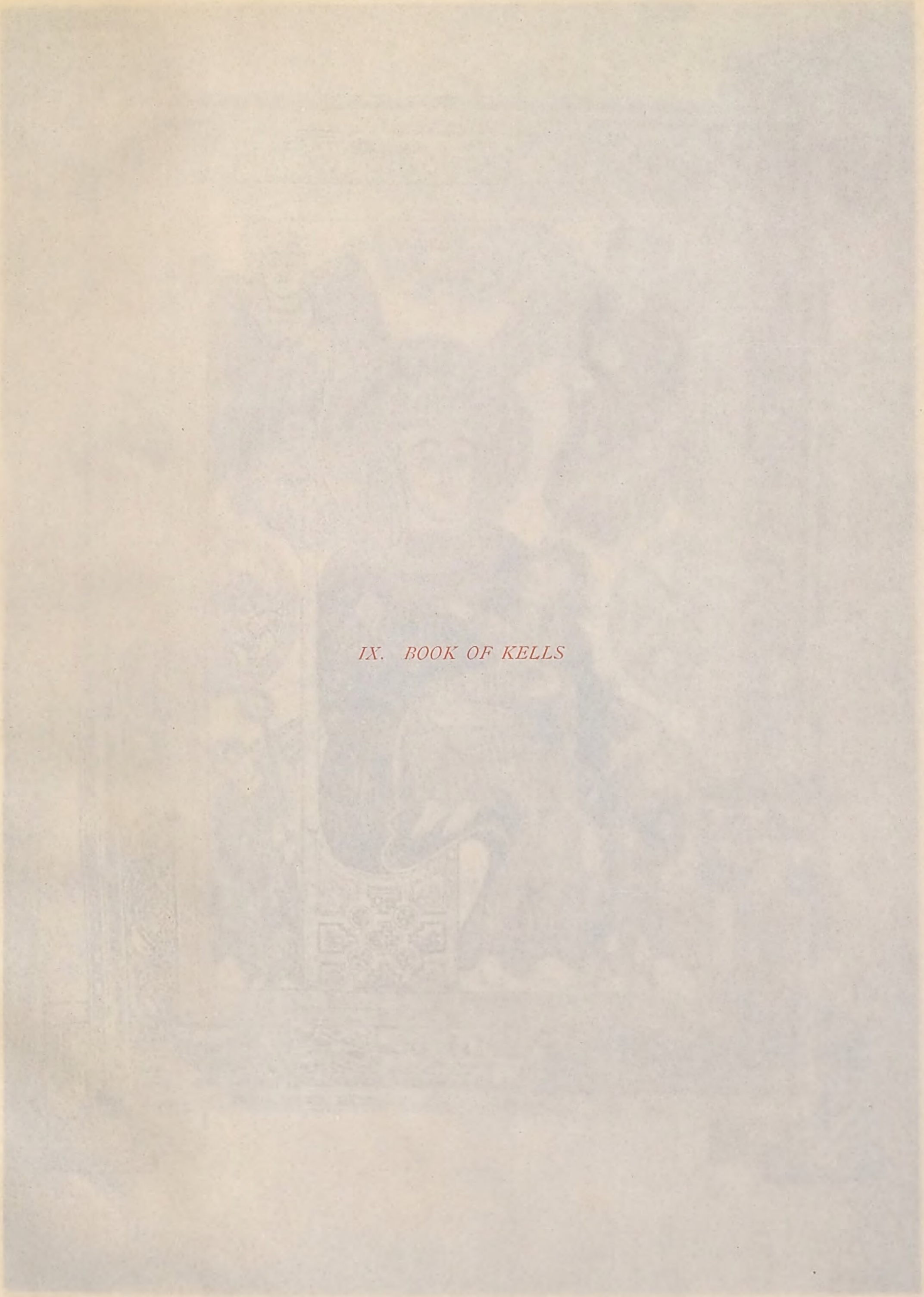
[1] *Transactions R. I. A.*, vol. XXX, parts VII and VIII, p. 317 *seqq.*
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 314, 315.
[3] *Op. cit.*, *ibid.*
[4] *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 31 *seqq.*
[5] *MS.* (no press-mark) Trinity Coll., Dublin.

singular interest for students of the ancient lore of Ireland; but as a specimen of ancient Irish book-ornamentation, it is a very poor one, indeed. The volume exhibits uncoloured drawings of the Evangelistic symbols and some capital letters slightly tinted with colours. The name of the scribe is transmitted by notes entered in the original hand and containing requests for prayers »pro Ferdomnacho». In the *Annals of the Four Masters*[1] two persons of that name are recorded as scribes of Armagh, the one belonging to the eighth century, the other to the ninth. And there is something to support the view that the writer of the present manuscript should be identified with the second Ferdomnach, who died about A. D. 845. There are several erasures in the manuscript, one of which, successfully deciphered by Dr Graves, seems to imply that the book was written: »e dictante Torbach — herede Patricii».[2] This Torbach, we know, was only one year in the abbacy and died in A. D. 808.[3] Admitting the reading to be correct, this would fix the date of the manuscript with all desirable precision.

The origin of an unusually large-sized and lavishly ornamented volume known as the *Gospels of Mac Regol,* and now in the Bodleian library at Oxford[4], is more doubtful (see *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. I, plates XXII—XXIV; Westwood, *Miniatures and Ornaments,* plate XVI; Bond and Thompson, *Facsimiles,* plates 90, 91). It is a fragmentary copy of the Four Gospels, of the »mixed» text[5] reproduced by Irish scribes. In the final page is a colophon recording the name of the scribe:

Macregol dipin
cxit hoc euange
lium: Quicum
que legerit
Et intellegerit
istam narratio
nem orat pro
macreguil scripto
ri.

[1] *An. F. M.*, A. C. 726 and 844.
[2] *Proceedings R. I. A.*, vol. III, p. 320.
[3] *An. F. M.*
[4] *Bodl. MS. D. 24,* Oxford.
[5] *Histoire de la Vulgate,* p. 43.



IX. BOOK OF KELLS



The death of an Irish ecclesiastic named Mac Regol or Macriaghoil is recorded by the annalists under the year 820 or 821[1]; but until we possess some additional confirmation of the identity of this individual with the scribe of our manuscript, it would hardly be safe from the record in the annals to make any inference as to the age of the writer of the Gospels. The ornamentation of the manuscript is abundant, though somewhat rude in execution. Most of its patterns bear a close resemblance to the designs in the Lindisfarne Gospels; but they are less carefully drawn, and the colouring is less harmonious. Of floral or foliageous ornament there is no trace either in the surface decoration of the panels or in the terminals of borders and initials.

The phyllomorphic element is still wanting in a manuscript of the most elaborate and highly-finished decoration, possibly a work of the ninth century. This is a Gospel-book of very small quarto size, now preserved in the Archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, and connected with the name of Mælbrigte Mac Durnan[2] (see *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. I, plates XXX, XXXI; Westwood, *Miniatures and Ornaments*, plate XXII; *Palæographia*, plates XIII–XV). The text is of the »mixed» type characteristic of the Irish Gospels[3], and written in a beautifully clean and neat minuscule hand. Each of the Gospels is preceded by a full-page picture of the Evangelist, drawn and painted in the grotesque style of the Celtic school. The Evangelist is represented standing or seated, supporting a book in one hand, whilst the other holds a pastoral staff, or a pen [St. John], or a small leaf-shaped object [St. Mark]. Each of the miniatures is framed by an elaborate border worked with the usual compositions of fret, interlaced, and zoomorphic patterns, set in compartments. The initial pages of the Gospels are marked with ornamental capitals and rich border work. At the commencement of the volume,

[1] *An. U., An. F. M.*
[2] *MSS. collect.*, Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth.
[3] *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 43.

fol. 1 verso, is a full-page illumination, divided into sections by a cruciform design. The four larger spaces intervening between the border and the arms of the cross, are occupied with figures of the Evangelistic symbols; while the other panels are filled in with fret and spiral patterns. The artistic work of this volume has several features in common with that of the Lindisfarne Gospels. Characteristic details, such as heads, legs, etc., of the birds and quadrupeds, present the same forms; and the linear schemes in which the zoomorphic interlacements are arranged are nearly identical. The termination of crests and tongues consists in both cases of a plain spiral line. Other points of resemblance may be found in the thickly-laid pigments and the unusually bright and lustrous tone of the whole colouristic composition. On fol. 3 verso occurs an inscription which runs as follows:

+ *Mælbriðus. mac-*
durnani. istū. textū
per. triquadrū. dō.
digne. dogmatizat.
+ *Ast. aethelstanus.*
anglosæxana. rex. et
rector. doruuernensi.
metropoli. dat. p̄ æuū ⁘

Hence it appears that the manuscript was once in the possession of the Saxon King Aethelstan, who presented it to Canterbury; and also that it was, before the presentation took place, connected with — possibly written under direction of — a certain Mælbrigte Mac Durnan. He has been identified with an Irish ecclesiastic[1] of the race of St. Columba, who was abbat of Armagh and Raphoe and in A. D. 891 succeeded the great Scotic Saint as nineteenth abbat of Iona. This »St. Mælbrighde, son of Tornan, coarb of Patrick, Columcille, and Adamnan, head of the piety of all Ireland and of the greater part of Europe, died

[1] *Vita Sancti Columbæ*, Bannatyne ed., pp. 392, 393.

in a good old age, on the 20th of February, under the year of the Annals 925.[1]

Through the channel of the Columban foundation in Iona Irish Christianity and Irish culture spread to the pagan tribes of ancient Alban. Of the very close connexions between the ancient Celtic Church in Scotland and the Irish mother Church we have ample evidence in the chapters of Bede; and regarding more especially the art relations between the two countries, we still possess at least one document which shows how faithfully the genuine Irish style was followed, and Irish traditions handed down from one generation to another, in the religious houses in the North-British territories. The document we refer to is an illuminated volume of small octavo size containing parts of the Four Gospels[2], and now preserved in the University library at Cambridge (see Westwood, *Miniatures and Ornaments,* plate LI, fig. 2, 3; Bond and Thompson, *Facsimiles,* plates 210, 211; Stuart, *The Book of Deer*). It is known to have formerly belonged to the Columban monastery of Deer, in Scotland, a house which — judging from notices in the vernacular Gaelic language, entered in our manuscript at a later period — seems to have retained the peculiar organization of the ancient Celtic Church at a time when, in most of the religious houses in Scotland, the Celtic *régime* was brought to a close by the introduction of the new monastic orders of the Church of Rome. We have no means of determining the exact date of the manuscript. The text is, like that we usually meet with in the manuscripts of the Gospels written by Celtic scribes, mainly in accordance with the Vulgate, but with occasional readings from versions prior to St. Jerome's labours.[3] The volume is enriched with ornamental pages at the commencement of each of the Gospels, viz., (1) a page with a picture of the Evangelist, enclosed within border; and (2) the initial

[1] *An. F. M.,* A. C. 925; *cfr. An. U.,* 926.
[2] *MS. II. 6. 32,* Univ. Libr., Cambridge.
[3] *Histoire de la Vulgate,* p. 43.

page of the Gospel, with ornamental capital and border work. St. Matthew I, 18 is marked by special decoration of the same nature as the ordinary initial page; and in addition to these there is a page divided by a cruciform design, with a human figure (Evangelist) in each of the four corners. The initial letter is of what might be styled the black skeleton type, *i. e.*, composed of a black, banded body with a nondescript beast's head appended, and the interior spaces laid with patches of colour. The patterns employed for filling in the sections of the borders are geometrical interlacements, fret work, dotted, tesselated, and chequered designs. Some of the sections are left unfinished, and the workmanship is less elegant than that we are accustomed to find in a Celtic illuminated manuscript.

§ XIX

BEFORE we go on to trace the further evolution of the style as shown in the illuminated manuscripts of the best period and subsequently in those marking the downward progress, we must linger a little to note the influx of a foreign element, which makes its appearance, engrafted on the national stock of ornament, in by far the costliest relic of ancient Celtic art and culture now in existence. The novelty is the foliageous ornament; and its appearance side by side with the ancient native designs can only be accounted for by an increased contact with late classical art. In Roman as well as Byzantine art, *foliage*, in more or less conventionalised forms, was cultivated as the chief element of decoration. As such it was applied, in a profusion of varied types, and by means of manifold methods of work — sculptured, painted, or inlaid in mosaic — to enliven and embellish the masses of the architectural monument: its walls, floor, and ceiling; or more particularly to emphasise such portions of special structural significance as columns, arches, and architraves. And from the broad and mighty surfaces of the architectural monument, or from the limited spaces of the decorated objects of Ceramic art, in which the motive seems

to be, if possible, of still higher antiquity, the plant element extended in luxuriant growth so as to entwine with its leaves and tendrils almost every object of art fitted for decoration, down to the minute productions of the jeweller, the ivory-carver, and the miniature-painter.

Such works of the *Kleinkunst* were the means of propagating the style to the inhabitants of the far-off provinces of the Empire as well as to the barbarian races outside its boundaries. And there is ample evidence to show that these latter, in whatever manner they got possession of them, whether by warlike or commercial intercourse, made use of the imported objects as models for decorative purposes, trying to imitate the novel patterns in works of native manufacture. There are dug up from time to time in various parts of Europe, from the Crimea to the coasts of the Atlantic and the Baltic, objects, such as fibulæ of a peculiar, well-defined type, clasps, belt-mountings, and other personal ornaments[1], showing a pattern which is undoubtedly to be regarded as a more or less successful copy of a classic leaf design. From the evidence of coins and other associations of the various finds these objects are assigned to the epoch of the Teutonic migrations. Hence we may safely infer that the more or less degraded plant motive which is their most outstanding decorative feature is due to an impetus given by classical art at the time when the barbarian tribes came in more immeditate contact with the higher civilizations of Greece and Rome; unless it be that it was transplanted by commercial intercourse at a still earlier period.

In comparing the adaptation of classical plant ornament characteristic of the art of the Teutonic migrations, and shown on fibulæ and other metal work, with the forms of foliage employed in early Christian art in Britain,

[1] See especially *Antiquities of Kertch,* and Researches in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, with remarks on the ethnological and physical history of the Crimea, by Duncan McPherson, M. D., London, 1857, plate V and description; *Der Goldfund von Nagy-Szent-Miklós,* sogenannter »Schatz des Attila», Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte der Völkerwanderungsepoche, von Joseph Hampel, Budapest, 1885, p. 145 *seqq.*, figs. 117, 118, 123-136; *Die Gräberfelder von Keszthely,* von Dr Wilhelm Lipp, Budapest, 1895, figs. 68-70, 187, 192, etc.

it becomes, however, quite evident that we can speak of no immediate relation between that type of pattern — not infrequently appearing as a hybrid form, half plant, half spiral — and those displayed in the earlier phases of Saxon and Celtic ecclesiastical art. Moreover, it becomes evident that the latter were directly derived from Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine designs as appearing in works of an ecclesiastical nature, and were introduced in closest connexion with the Christian civilization. We must here confine our attention to the works of early Christian caligraphy and book-decoration, as illuminated manuscripts of foreign make may be regarded as the most likely bearers of those novel designs that were adopted by British draughtsmen for the decoration of similar objects.

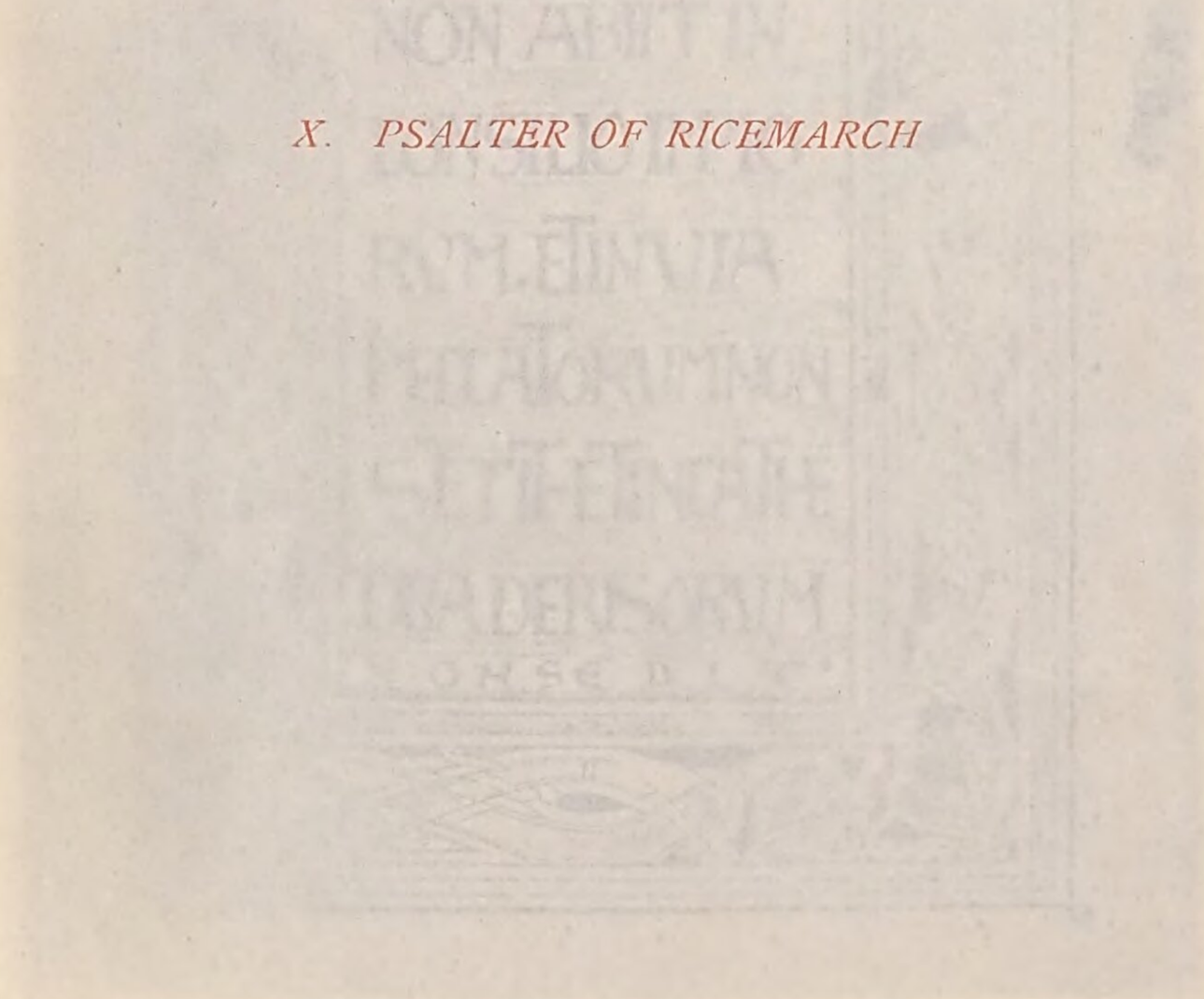
The illuminated manuscripts of early Italian and Byzantine origins present, as a rule, exceedingly little in way of decoration that is not either phyllomorphic in its nature or immediately connected with foliage. This may be said with reference even to the miniatures we meet with in the early copies of the Sacred Word. In these the picture itself is purely illustrative, in style and feeling occasionally recalling the works of genuine classicism, and still showing, even in its most debased types, some observation of nature; thus widely differing from its Celtic pendant, which is emphatically decorative, not illustrative, in its character. But round the picture we often find, here as in Celtic art, an ornamental border framing the figures. And in the decoration of this frame work, foliage, obviously copied from architectural cornices and leaf mouldings, will be seen to form the most prominent element. The same element occurs in the artistic enrichment of the Eusebian Canons. That well-known series of arches supported by columns, which reappears, at least in its general scheme, in the illuminated copies of the Gospels throughout the Middle Ages, was also, no doubt, originally suggested by, and together with its decorative details copied from, actual architecture. Thus in manuscripts of superior workmanship we can easily recognise the distinct

outline, for example, of an elaborate Composite capital of Roman fashion, or of a most correct and regularly shaped Ionic base, or even the particular kind of marble of which the shaft of the column was wrought. In these compositions foliated scrolls are often introduced to adorn the *tænia* of the archivolt, or to enliven the empty spaces intervening between the lower arches and the superior arch spanning the outermost columns. The initial letters are, as a rule, but slightly enlarged and rather insignificant in their decorative aspect. Here, again, the foliageous element, in the form of a heart-shaped, trefoil, or tricuspid leaf, will often be seen to form part of the body of the letter, or to be appended as terminals. And, lastly, in what forms the counterpart of the rich Celtic border work, viz., the ornamental head-pieces in Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine manuscripts, foliageous ornament holds a still broader place. In its richest form this kind of illumination appears as a rectangular panel occupying a considerable space of the page, and worked with patterns in colours on golden ground and in strictly symmetrical composition round a small central tablet that bears the inscription. But generally it presents the appearance of a narrow decorated band, carried either all round the inscription or so as to frame it on two or three sides only. Whether in the shape of a broad, elaborate panel or a plain framing of the latter description, it is occasionally seen to be covered with some kind of tesselated or chequer pattern of purely geometrical nature, evidently derived from mosaic work. But in most cases it is occupied with foliage, either in the shape of a single wavy stem extending over the space to be decorated, with scrolls in the hollows alternately to the right and left; or in the composite form of several stems arranged symmetrically round the central panel. In both cases it often occurs that scrolls are modified so as to expand with a single circular curve into the shape of a medallion; and in these medallions, as well as in the centres of the ordinary scrolls, there are often inserted animal forms, such as lions,

gryphons, dolphins, birds, winged quadrupeds, and other reminiscences of animal motive in antique decoration. In the moulding of the phyllomorphic element the genuine classical traditions are equally conspicuous. When connected with animal forms involved in the tendrils, the foliage generally appears as a trail of vine, or ivy, or acanthus of the extenuated types characteristic of Byzantine art. And the well-known classical series of the lotus alternating with the palmetto, as well as of the lotus »flower and bud« pattern, are easily recognised among the forms of foliage when that element occurs alone.

§ XX. DECORATION with animal motives involved in foliage, which we have seen to be a favourite device in the artistic enrichment of early Italian and Byzantine manuscripts, was not, however, confined to the pages of the illuminated books, but was applied to a variety of objects of art from an early period. The idea of thus associating different motives was not even an invention of Christian artificers, but one derived from pagan art. Among details in the earliest wall-paintings in the recesses of the Catacombs at Rome *(S. Domitilla, S. Pretestato, S. Callisto, S. Agnese)*, we find, for example, tendrils of vine or ivy, with birds introduced amongst the leafage and pecking at the grapes[1]; and this ornamental composition in its turn has prototypes of high antiquity in Greek, Roman, and Etruscan art. The less rational fashion of introducing, together with birds, various quadrupeds of natural or nondescript types, which is so common in mediæval art, would also seem to date from pre-Christian periods, and to owe its origin to classical representations, suggested, presumably, by Bacchic myths. Since the early

[1] *Storia della Arte Cristiana* nei primi otto secoli della chiesa scritta dal P. Raffaele Garrucci, D. C. D. G., vol. II, Prato, 1873, pp. 23, 37, 43, 68; *tav.* 19, 32, 37, 65. *Roma Sotterranea*, or an account of the Roman Catacombs, especially of the cemetery of St. Callixtus, by Rev. J. Spencer Northcote, D. D. and Rev. W. R. Brownlow, M. A., Part Second: Christian art, London, 1879, pp. 120, 121, 122, 148—52.



X. PSALTER OF RICEMARCH


EA
TVS
VIR QVI
NON ABIIT IN
CONSILIO IMPIO
RVM. ETIN VIA
PECCATORVM NON
STETIT. ETIN CATHE
DRA DERISORVM
NON SEDIT.

centuries of Christian architecture this kind of pattern is known to have played a great part in the decoration of the interiors of churches and baptisteries, being used both in mosaics and wall-paintings.[1] It also appears in the sculptured decoration of early Christian stone sarcophagi. But more particularly it was applied to objects of smaller dimensions, such as ivory and metal work. One of the finest examples of ivory carving in this style may be seen in the surface decoration of the Episcopal chair of St. Maximianus, a work executed in the course of the sixth century, and now preserved in the cathedral at Ravenna.[2] Another very beautiful example of a later date is shown on one of the sculptured ivory plaques used as covers for a *Liber Sacramentorum,* now belonging to the cathedral of Monza[3]; and objects of a similar decoration, in ivory or metal, although less elegantly executed, are still extant in sufficient numbers to show that this type of ornament was a very favourite one as early as the periods termed by Italian writers *Latino-Barbaro* and *Italo-Bizantino.*

As to the period when the same style made its first appearance in Britain we know nothing with certainty. But there is ground for assuming that, as early as the time of the Roman missionaries, an importation took place of objects that may have been bearers of similar designs, and have suggested to native artificers those barbarous equivalents in style, viz., compositions of foliage and animal forms, which were subsequently, for a long succession of centuries, the most frequently and most variously treated motive in English illumination. We hear, for example, of books sent to St. Augustine by Pope Gregory[4]; and judging from the earliest extant Saxon manuscripts, dating

[1] See especially Nesbitt, *On the Churches at Rome earlier than the year 1150,* in *Archæologia,* vol. XL; *Architecture in Italy* from the sixth to the eleventh century, historical and critical researches by Raffaele Cattaneo, translated by the Contessa Isabel Curtis-Cholmeley in Bermani, London, 1896, p. 30 *seqq.*

[2] Engraved in du Sommerard's *Arts du Moyen Age,* Album, Ire Série, pl. XI; and, more accurately, in *Archæologia,* vol. XLV, plate XXXVII.

[3] Jules Labarte, *Histoire des Arts Industriels* au Moyen Age et à l'époque de la Renaissance, Deuxième édition, Tome I, Paris, 1872, pl. VI.

[4] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.,* Lib. I, c. XXIX.

from *circa* A. D. 700, we should conclude that Saxon art of illumination was, from its very first beginning, most closely dependent on Roman models; and, accordingly, that patterns like those described above are likely to have been introduced and imitated as early as the epoch when Saxon scribes and illuminators first went to work. That the style was known and practised at least as early as the latter half of the seventh century, there can be no reasonable doubt when we bear in mind the efforts, referred to in a previous chapter, which were made by Wilfrid and other reformers, to introduce into the country Roman culture and Roman fashions.

In his description of the elaborate sculpture found on the coffin of St. Cuthbert, Reginald, a monk of Durham who flourished in the twelfth century, and who had himself seen the relic he describes, seems to allude to the type of ornament we are considering. His unusually full and detailed account runs as follows:

»Nunc vero explicabimus qualis illius theca interior sit. In theca interiori apud insulam Lindisfarnensem elatus de tumulo sepulchri primum positus est; in qua semper hactenus corpus illius incorruptibile conservatum est. Hæc ut archa est quadrangula — — Quæ tota de quercu nigro compacta est — — Hæc tota exterius præmirabili coelatura desculpitur, quæ adeo est minuti ac subtilissimi operis ut plus stupori quam scientiæ aut possibilitati sculptoris convenire credatur. Tractus equidem singuli pertenues sunt ac permodici, quibus diversa bestiarum, florum sive ymaginum in ligno ipso videntur inseri, percoelari vel exarari — — Quæ arca in aliam exteriorem includitur — —« [1]

We know from Bede that the remains of St. Cuthbert were exhumed and enshrined in A. D. 698, eleven years after his death[2]; and as there can be no doubt that the »theca interior« described by Reginald was identical with the original wooden shrine, or coffin, which was made to receive the remains of the Saint, in A. D. 698, that would fix the date of the peculiar style of engraving referred to in

[1] Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis *Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthbercti virtutibus*, c. XLIII.

[2] *Vita S. Cudbercti*, c. XLII; *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. IV, c. XXX.

Reginald's account to a period anterior to the end of the seventh century.

§ XXI UNFORTUNATELY we are not in a position to pronounce decisively on the age of a class of monuments which supplies abundant material illustrative of the type of ornament under consideration. We allude to a remarkable group of sculptured stones characteristic of districts of the north of England. The most outstanding feature in the decoration of these monuments is foliage, occasionally combined with animal forms, which are treated in a very different manner from that distinguishing purely Celtic art. The foliage is variously modelled and arranged, but its root is in all cases alike unmistakable. Generally it appears in the well-known form of a running pattern of a single wavy stem with recurved scrolls in the hollows alternately to the right and left. Of less frequent occurrence is a pattern composed of two undulating and intertwining stems; as is also that with a single straight stalk or stem line in the centre of the surface and scrolls issuing at regular intervals in symmetrical arrangement opposite each other. The scrolls usually terminate in trefoil or lanceolate leaflets and fruit in a shape which, in some cases, is very clearly suggested by bunches of grapes. Occasionally the main stem is seen to proceed from a vase. Fabulous creatures of undoubtedly classic extraction, such as winged dragons and gryphons, occur inserted amongst the branches, together with birds and quadrupeds moulded more closely after nature.

Specimens exhibiting this style of decoration are found in the area formerly the kingdom of Northumbria and adjoining territories, the best known being the richly ornamented crosses at Bewcastle[1] and at Ruthwell[2]. For illustrations the reader should refer to Dr Stuart's magnificent volumes on the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, in which the most notable remains are beautifully illustrated and

[1] [John Stuart] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. II, Edinburgh, 1867, plates XXI, XXII.

[2] *Op. cit.*, plates XIX, XX.

described. The age of these monuments is a matter of controversy. There is little now extant in the way of inscription or record, that might help to definitely fix their dates. It may be noted, however, that the cross at Ruthwell and also that at Bewcastle are ascribed, with some good show of reason, to so early an epoch as the seventh century.[1] But whatever may be the actual age of these specimens and of others with ornament of a like nature, they are of considerable interest as proofs of the application of the style to native stone sculpture at a time when genuine Celtic design was still flourishing on such work. When we except the important class of stone sculpture of unmixed Celtic character which is typical of the eastern half of Scotland, and so splendidly represented in Dr Stuart's work[2], there are, perhaps, no more imposing monuments of early Christian sculpture in Britain than the Northumbrian specimens; and in the artistic work still traceable on their bold, weather-beaten surfaces, it is curious to observe how two rival elements, each of a very distinct, well-marked type, have met and struggle for supremacy, the one the Celtic, the other the Roman style: on the one side, small, circumscribed panels filled in with figure subjects, or with fret or interlaced work; on the other, foliage, usually extending in vigorous growth to the full height of the surface, with birds and beasts of various kinds playing amongst the branches.

At what period and under what circumstances the foreign style of decoration reached Ireland is more difficult to decide. Although it never obtained great favour with Irish artificers, yet there are traces left sufficient to show that the new designs were tried by the sculptor and the metal-worker as well as by the painter of illuminated manuscripts. Among the finest specimens of the lavishly-ornamented high crosses in Ireland there are those,

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 15; *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. I, new series, p. 149 *seqq.*

[2] *Cfr.* the groups at *St. Vigeans*, at *Aberlemno*, at *Meigle*, and others belonging to an area which comprises the eastern half of Scotland, from Fife to Caithness; Joseph Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian times*, second series, Edinburgh, 1881, p. 74.

for example, at Kells[1], Clonmacnois[2], and Monasterboice[3], in the decoration of which the typically Celtic designs of the ancient native school may be seen mixed up with the new element, not, however, without a certain adaptation of the latter which betrays the Celtic feeling. Thus, while in Northumbrian sculpture the scrolls of foliage are seen to extend freely over the whole field to be decorated, the same element on the Irish crosses invariably appears in more modest dimensions, and confined to smaller panels, in the same manner as the native designs. The Irish high crosses seem to belong to a comparatively late period, probably extending from about A. D. 900 downwards. And the dated examples of metal work with foliageous ornament are of still more recent origin. In the decoration applied to the pages of the manuscripts foliage appears, for the first time, so far as any positive evidence exists, in the remarkable volume which is now to engage our attention.

§ XXII

AMONG the ancient documents preserved in the library of Trinity College in Dublin is an illuminated volume of large quarto size containing the Four Gospels, mainly in accordance with the Vulgate version[4], and generally known as the *Book of Kells*[5] (see *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. I, plates VII–XVII; Westwood, *Miniatures and Ornaments*, plates VIII–XI; *Palæographia*, plates 16, 17; *Celtic Ornaments from the Book of Kells*, vols. I–IX). On account of the lavish abundance and exceptional perfection of its artistic work this book is justly regarded, not only as the chief treasure in this precious collection, but also as by far the costliest relic of ancient Celtic art that has

[1] Henry O'Neill, *The Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland*, plate 29.
[2] *Op. cit.*, plate 25.
[3] *Op. cit.*, plates 10, 14, 15.
[4] *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 41, 42.
[5] *MS. A. 1. 6.*, Trinity Coll., Dublin.

come down to our time. It is known to have formerly belonged to the monastery of Cenannus, or Kells, in Meath; hence, its name. At the commencement and the end of the volume some smaller portions are missing; but leaving this defect out of account, we may say that the manuscript has descended to us in a very good state of preservation. In pages which were originally left blank, records referring to the ecclesiastical community of Kells have been entered at an early period; but there is no colophon nor signature left to tell us the name of the scribe or the circumstances under which the work was produced. If there ever was anything of the kind, it may have disappeared together with the fragments missing at the end of the manuscript. The text is written throughout in a remarkably clear and regular hand; a few pages (26 recto and verso, 29 verso—31 recto) being in double columns. At the commencement some pages are written in lines of black and red alternating, while the rest of the text is in a black or brownish ink.

As to the artistic enrichment of the volume, this manuscript equals the Lindisfarne Gospels in accuracy of drawing, and softness and harmony of colour, and surpasses it in the lavish abundance and astounding variety of its ornament. Almost every page may be said to show decorative features. At the commencement of each of the Gospels we meet with a series of grand illuminated pages, including the picture of the Evangelist, a full-page composition of the four symbols, an ornamental page with a cruciform design, and the page containing the first words of the Gospel; all of which are worked with a variety of design and colouring, and a perfection and finish of detail, of which no literal description can give an adequate idea. Then, there are the decorative framings of the Eusebian Canons; the marvellously ornamented page marking the passage: »*XPI autem generatio sic erat*«, St. Matthew I, 18; and — a thing of rare occurrence in the Celtic copies of the Gospels — a series of full-page miniatures, with subjects suggested by the accompanying text. Thus we

see the *Virgin and Child,* surrounded by angels; the *Temptation:* Jesus on the pinnacle of the temple; and *Jesus seized by the Jews;* the first two of which are enclosed within elaborate square borders, while the last-mentioned scene is set between two columns spanned by a round arch. In addition to these pages, illuminations of hardly less elaborate character are seen to be inserted in the sequence of chapters, to mark some passage or other which seemed to be of special importance; and minor decorations, in an amazing variety of forms, appear in every page throughout the volume, being used as terminals, or as fancy-flourishes appended to plain letters, or as initials placed at the head of every new sentence.

It is evident that the ornamental work, at least to some extent, was executed after the text was completed. Some of the smaller initials are left unfinished; and in the border work framing the double columns, fol. 29 verso—31 recto, only small portions are executed in colours and patterns, while the rest is drawn in outline only. Among the patterns employed there are first the whole series of those typical of Celtic art and of frequent occurrence in the earlier manuscripts, such as geometrical fret, interlaced, and spiral patterns, together with zoomorphic interlacements in every possible variety of form and composition. But besides these we notice an admixture of elements some of which are rarely, if ever, met with in Celtic art outside of these pages. Among these novelties we find, for example, several varieties of chequer and tesselated pattern, generally introduced to enliven smaller spaces and vacancies intervening between the broader and more elaborate designs. Then, there are various forms of the rosette, a type of ornament which is decidedly un-Celtic. Among the minor decorations inserted throughout the ordinary text, at the beginning or the end of the line, or in the vacant spaces left between two sentences, we have figures of birds, quadrupeds, fishes, serpents, warrior armed with shield and spear, man on horseback, etc., together with fancy-flourishes in almost unlimited variety; the whole

betraying an effort after enrichment which to modern eyes is somewhat childish and bizarre in its general effect. But the most important innovation is the introduction of foliage. This element appears, to begin with, among the flourishes and terminals, in the shape of lightly sketched branches with leaves and flowers, sometimes proceeding from vases. Of a more elaborate nature are the scrolls of foliage which are seen to fill in, as a surface decoration, long, narrow borders or panels in the grand illuminated pages. The most characteristic form is a pattern of a single wavy stem with alternate recurved scrolls terminating in trefoil-shaped leaves. Also in this position the stem is occasionally found to proceed from a vase. More general, however, is a less rational connexion of leaf design with zoomorphic patterns. Thus a branch of foliage is frequently seen to evolve from between the open jaws of a nondescript, while at the same time the tail of the beast presents the appearance of a trefoil or lancet-shaped leaf. And there are other patterns in which zoomorphic forms are intertwined with undulating stems of foliage, much on the same principle as the compositions which, in the previous pages, we have observed in dialects of non-Celtic decorative art. As an example of the freedom and variety displayed in the illumination of the manuscript we may note two pages facing each other, fol. 145 verso—146 recto. In these the illuminated initial combination *Et* occurs no less than seven times, in forms all of which vary in outline and colouring. Moreover, the same combination appears repeatedly throughout the text, but there is no one instance of it that can be said to be a mechanical repetition of a foregoing form.

Concerning the age of the manuscript nothing is known with certainty. The current theory, based on an ancient tradition, has, however, assigned it to a very remote period. In the *Annals of Ulster* a record under the year 1006 refers to a remarkable manuscript which at that time belonged to the church of Kells. It reads as follows:

»— — The great Gospel of Colum-Cille was wickedly stolen in the night out of the western sacristy of the great stone-church of Cenannas — the chief relic of the western world, on account of its ornamental cover. The same Gospel was found after twenty [nights] and two months, its gold having been taken off it, and a sod over it. — —«[1]

Now the present volume is held to be the very book which, at the commencement of the eleventh century, belonged to the religious establishment at Kells, and was at that time connected by local tradition with the name of St. Columba. And modern authorities like Professor J. O. Westwood[2] and Dr J. H. Todd[3] seem inclined to accept the tradition as historical; and, accordingly, arrive at the conclusion that the still extant manuscript may be regarded as a relic of the days of the Saint of Iona. On the other hand, Dr Joseph Anderson, in his lectures on early Christian Scottish antiquities, refers to the appearance of foliageous ornament in this manuscript as »one indication of its being the product, not of the beginning, but of the culmination of the school of art which it represents«.[4] And Miss Margaret Stokes, who has perhaps devoted to this volume more study than anyone else, in her later publications, expresses an opinion that it was executed as late as the ninth century.[5] We think there is something to be said for the last-mentioned hypothesis. And we hope to show in a following article, in which the characteristics of the Carlovingian art are to be considered, that there exist, in fact, between the non-Celtic elements of decoration shown in the *Book of Kells* and the art dialect just alluded to, such affinities as will hardly leave room for doubt that the Celtic manuscript was produced under the influence of that early *renaissance* which commenced in the Frankish Empire under the reign of Charlemagne.

[1] *An. U.*, A. D. 1006.
[2] *Palæographia*, Book of Kells, p. 6; *Miniatures and Ornaments*, p. 26.
[3] *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. VI, p. 6.
[4] *Scotland in Early Christian times*, vol. I, p. 153.
[5] *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. II, p. 169.

§ XXIII

LASTLY, we have to lay before the reader some specimens illustrative of the state of art in the decadent age of Celtic book-illumination. First in the series we shall take a small, beautifully written volume containing the tripartite Psalter,[1] and preserved among the manuscripts of Trinity College, Dublin (see *Vetusta Monumenta,* vol. VI, plate IV; *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. II, appendix I; *Palæographia,* N:O XX). At the commencement of each of the three divisions of Psalms is an illuminated page containing a large ornamental initial and rows of letters laid on coloured bands and framed by elaborate border work. Of the ancient fret, spiral, and geometrical knot-work patterns there is little or nothing; while, on the other hand, zoomorphic interlacements in bold and graceful schemes are employed for the surface decoration of the border as well as for the construction of the initial. Smaller initials, built on the same principle, are seen heading the sub-divisions of the text. A letter of this last-mentioned type may be briefly described as a black, banded body, with the interior spaces laid with patches of colour. Occasionally it is seen to be composed of two, or more, elongated and intertwined zoomorphic forms. At the one end of the banded body we notice a beast's head of a bizarre, conventional type, while the other extremity is either wound in plain spiral lines or, what is more common, made to terminate in what seems to be the rude scheme of a leaf design. At the conclusion of the volume, fol. 158 verso, is a versified composition, written, it appears, in the same hand as part of the Psalms; and of particular interest as recording the names of those engaged on the transcription and decoration of the manuscript. The last six lines of the entry are as follows:

Ergo in nr̄a q́ dicor gente Ricemarch.
Sulgeni genitus. Necn̄ Iohannis adelphs̄.

[1] *MS. A. 4. 20,* Trinity Coll., Dublin.

Ithael asscripst. Studiū cui nō ītaurat.
Psalmorū p̄ceres depinxit rite Iohannes.
Ille sit īscriptīs gemma sub pectore vitas [1]
Hc̄ capiat hirubin templi pictā subalis . . ,

This Ricemarch is identified with a bishop of that name who in A. D. 1089 succeeded his father, Sulgen, in the see of St. David's, in Wales, and who died in A. D. 1096.[2]

To the same period we should adjudge another illuminated Psalter, fragments of which[3] are now preserved in the library of the Franciscan Convent in Dublin. The six leaves still extant present ornamental capitals of much the same nature as those just described. There is the same banded body in black, with a beast's head of a nondescript type attached at the one end, while the other terminates in a plain spiral or in a foliated scheme. The interiors are laid with patches of colour. Together with some other ancient books of Irish extraction the manuscript was, not long ago, transferred to its present locality from the Franciscan House of St. Isidore's at Rome. Before that time it was at the Franciscan Convent of St. Anthony of Padua, at Louvain; and at a still earlier period, according to a note entered in the first page of the fragments, it formed part of the library in the house of the same Order at Donegal (»ex libris Conventus de Dunnagall», in Colgan's handwriting). At that time — the seventeenth century — there was a current tradition, recorded by Ussher[4] and other writers, about a book written by St. Camin, abbat of Inis Celtra, in Loch Derg, who died about A. D. 650. And it would seem that the manuscript thus claimed by the learned people of the seventeenth century as of the hand of St. Camin would be no other than the volume to which the still existing fragments once belonged. It need hardly be said that the tradition

[1] Above the line, a gloss in small letters: ·/· *sacerdotis.*
[2] *Vetusta Monumenta,* vol. VI, p. 14.
[3] *MS. G. II,* Libr. Franc. Conv., Dublin.
[4] »Habebatur Psalterium, cujus — Atque illud S. Cammini manu fuisse descriptum, communi traditione ferebatur —»; *Brit. Eccles. Antiquitates,* p. 972.

was, in case the identity could be proved, without real foundation.

Although the art of the illuminator was, in the first place, claimed for the adornment of copies of the Holy Writ, and more particularly of such portions of it as the Gospels and the Psalter, yet there are still extant specimens showing that it was not confined to such works, but also applied, at least in a later period, to other kinds of religious service books as well as to writings of a secular nature. As an instance we may take a decorated volume, now in the precious collection of Trinity College, Dublin, which, judging from its torn and blackened condition, seems to have passed through some vicissitudes[1] (see *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. I, plates XXXII—XXXVI). The still extant folios contain a series of hymns and compositions in Latin and Irish, connected with the names of a number of Irish saints. Coloured initials of bold, artistic design are seen at the head of the various items. Each of these letters is composed of zoomorphic interlacements, with long, narrow appendices twisted and woven at random round the broader structural body and occasionally terminating in a leaf design. In the library of the Franciscan Convent in Dublin we find some fragments of an ancient *Liber Hymnorum* of a similar type[2], enriched with capitals which closely agree in style with those of the preceding volume. Of non-ecclesiastical manuscripts the *Leabhar Na H-Uidhri*, compiled about A. D. 1100, now in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, is held to be the earliest example still in existence (see *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. I, plates XXXVII—XXXIX). It contains a series of ornamental initials of the black skeleton type, heading the sub-divisions of the text.

Returning to the Biblical manuscripts, we next find a copy of the Gospels which may be assigned, with tolerable certainty, to the middle decades of the twelfth century. It is a small quarto volume among the Harleian

[1] *MS. E. 4. 2*, Trinity Coll., Dublin.
[2] *MS. G. 1*, Libr. Franc. Conv., Dublin.

manuscripts in the British Museum[1] (see *National MSS. Irel.*, vol. I, plates XL—XLII; Bond and Thompson, *Facsimiles*, plate 212). The name of the scribe is ascertained from several contemporary entries, which, connected with records in the ancient annals, admit of the conclusion that the work was executed at Armagh about A. D. 1140. The text, of the usual »mixed» character of the Irish Gospels, is written in an exceptionally minute, but clear and elegant hand. The artistic work consists of elaborate initials of the same nature, both in composition and detail, as those described above; and of some very rude representations of Evangelistic emblems, enclosed with border work. Another small Irish volume containing the Four Gospels, and preserved in the same collection, may be assigned to the same century.[2] The symbols of the Evangelists appear in plain outline drawing; and in the decoration of the initials we discern the same characteristic details as were found in the above mentioned manuscripts.

§ XXIV AFTER that time — about A. D. 1200 — we do not find any new departure or advance in any branch of Celtic decorative art. The method of enriching with illuminations the more important manuscripts, whether sacred or secular, continued in fashion to the very end of the Middle Ages. But there is no original feature of any description discernible in these late mediæval productions. The decorative work is mostly confined to initials, drawn and painted on the model of those of the earlier manuscripts; the only difference being that they are less carefully executed. Occasionally we find a partial border, likewise copied from ancient designs; or some kind of terminal, or even free-hand drawings inserted in the marginal spaces. But these things are, without exception, destitute of any artistic merit, roughly executed as they are, and mostly in outline only, without colour. The same may be said with reference to the very feeble attempts that were made, from the thirteenth century downwards, to

[1] *Harl. MS. 1802*, Brit. Mus.
[2] *Harl. MS. 1023*, Brit. Mus.

introduce patterns obviously copied from manuscripts of English extraction; and there is absolutely nothing, in the productions of Irish scribes and illuminators subsequent to *circa* A. D. 1200, to parallel the beautiful growth of the art of illumination characteristic of the English, French, and Flemish schools of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. When we consider the flourishing condition more especially of the English school of illumination in the earlier half of the fourteenth century, it is somewhat unexpected to find no germs of that luxuriant growth transplanted and taking root in the neighbouring isle. But, at the same time, this impotency, if not total absence, of foreign influences is a very significant feature, emphasising as it does the distance in age and character between the two styles. The English style was, after all, in every stage of its progress, only a particular dialect closely related to contemporary Continental forms of art and, together with these, ultimately traceable to easily recognised late classical prototypes; whereas, on the other hand, the Celtic style, whatever may be the origination of the separate elements out of which it evolved, assumed at once, and retained throughout its course, a most pronounced character of its own, so widely differing in its total aspect from anything observable elsewhere that, except in a few special points, it is hard to distinguish any immediate connexions with the various mediæval dialects that emanated from the classical art centres. We have seen how an attempt was made to engraft a foreign element on the national style, at a time when the Celtic art of illumination had already attained to its highest standard of excellence. But this attempt can hardly be pronounced successful in its result. The novel element never rose to importance, never came to hold a co-ordinate place with the ancient native designs; and survived only in a withered, formalised scheme, the true origin of which is hardly to be recognised owing to its hopeless divergence from any rational prototype. At the time when the English art of illumination reached its highest perfection the Celtic

school was growing old. And, besides, the political circumstances in Ireland were at that time — and had been ever since the arrival of Fitz-Stephen and his Anglo-Norman followers — anything but favourable for a revival of the national art, or a new departure of it, by the infusion of foreign principles. In fact, from the political history of that period it is easily understood how it was that the Irish, in the decadent age, not only of their art, but also of their national existence, still clung to their ancient native traditions, in preference to adopting the art of their conquerors.

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